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**MINOAN CLAY VOTIVE FIGURE FROM PETSOFA IN EASTERN CRETE**

*The detached head is from another example from Petsofa: both slightly enlarged*

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# MINOAN DRESS\*

by

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*References in bold type (e.g. <sup>1</sup>) refer both to notes and to drawings in Fig. 1; others (e.g. <sup>2</sup>) refer only to notes*

**I** The contemporary representations of Minoan dress are so numerous, so accurate, and are distributed over so long a period of time, that it is possible to trace this first indigenous European type of clothing to its essential origins, and also to connect it with later types of clothing in some regions of Europe, which survive into modern times in spite of the wide range, for many centuries, of the quite distinct type represented by the costumes of Greece and Italy in classical times.

It will assist our enquiry if we note at the outset (i) that though skins, fleeces and even furs are occasionally worn by Minoan people, the normal materials for dress are textiles; (ii) that every 'length' of a textile <sup>1</sup> has (a) its lateral edges (selvedges) where the marginal warp threads are bound together by the returning weft, so that they support each other against marginal wear and tear—and sometimes are of stronger yarn for this purpose—and (b) its terminal edges, parallel with the loom beam and roller, at which the warp threads run out beyond the weft, and the weft threads are prevented from fraying out, either by folding the edge of the piece into a stitched 'hem,' or by tying small groups of the projecting warp-threads together, to form a fringe, or a row of tassels. The latter are often recognizable, in ancient representations, and reveal the direction in which the garment has been made up from the original piece.<sup>2</sup>

The direction of the lines of an inwoven pattern is not decisive on this point, for a striped pattern may result from the introduction of coloured threads either (a) in the original warp on the loom beam,<sup>3</sup> or (b) in the shuttle-woven weft, either over the whole length of the piece,<sup>4</sup> or in a decorative band across each end: for it must be remembered that early textiles were not woven at indefinite length, but in short pieces like a towel or a blanket, which were at first worn as separate garments, and only secondarily made up, and eventually cut up, into shaped skirts and coats.

Where a lengthways and a crossways pattern are combined in a plaid or diaper fabric, it is not easy to discover which element is supplied by the warp threads and which by the weft, even where their rhythm is different.

It will simplify analysis if we deal first with men's dress and afterwards with women's, which is more elaborate.

## *Men's Dress*

The elementary garment at all periods is a short loom-length, like a towel, worn kilt-wise round the waist with a selvedge above and below, and the fringed or tasselled ends overlapping in front, usually a little out of the

middle.<sup>5</sup> The end patterns in the weft thus reinforce the decorative effect of the fringes. Sometimes a 'codpiece' (penis sheath) was worn,<sup>6</sup> as by some Libyan people on Egyptian monuments, usually concealed by the kilt, but sometimes protruding through the overfold, and decorated.

This 'towel'-kilt was at first held in position by tucking or tying the upper corners; but when these were made to overlap a cord was used as a girdle, and knotted. In an Egyptian tomb painting the bow loops of such a cord are shown on each side.<sup>7</sup> On this girdle was slung by a loop the leather sheath of a dagger which is clearly shown outside the kilt in clay figures at Petsofa, in front of the left hip.<sup>8</sup> Later, the girdle becomes composite. A stiff belt of concave section, like the rim of a cycle wheel, with overlapping ends sliding easily on one another,<sup>9</sup> is worn over the kilt, and secured by a cord or band lying in the concavity, and apparently encircling the waist several times.<sup>10</sup> This, with friendly help, could be drawn very tight, to give the characteristic Minoan 'wasp waist.' This stiff belt may have been of leather or sheet-metal, to judge from coloured representations. To prevent it from fretting the wearer it was worn over a pad, which swelled out above and below, and was covered with a textile pillowcase, and embroidered.<sup>11</sup> Votive models of such belts are associated at Knossos with models of women's dresses (*see below*).<sup>12</sup>

Thus sustained, the kilt was sometimes multiple like a Highland kilt, each layer adorned with a border, which stood out stiffly, the shorter above the longer.<sup>13</sup> A quite different garment results when the kilt is long, loose, and drawn inwards below between the legs like the baggy 'Turkish' trousers.<sup>14</sup> In its modern fully developed form, the free edges of the original 'kilt' are sewn together from the waist downwards, and the lower selvedge is sewn to itself like the bottom of a sack, leaving an opening at each lower corner for the legs.<sup>15</sup> Above, the selvedge was folded on itself and sewn to form a draw to carry the belt cord. This is the widespread and characteristic garment of the mountain zone, from Persia and beyond (in Greek *ἀναφυλίδες*: Herodotus v. 49, vii. 64) to Britain: Teutonic *Schurz* and our own *skirt* may be the same word. In Asia it was, and is, worn very loose; but the slack can be drawn up through the girdle either all round or in a mass behind, like a bustle.<sup>16</sup> For use in brush-wood or scrub, it is shaped so as to fit tightly from knees to waist, very widely in medieval Europe, and in Albania and Greece till now.<sup>17, 30</sup> In classical Greece it was completely superseded, but was reintroduced in the Middle Ages from Balkan lands and is worn on the mainland under a pleated linen skirt (*fustanella*).<sup>18, 30</sup> In another variant the single kilt is replaced by an apron, back and front, suspended from the girdle.<sup>19</sup> This is rare in Minoan Crete, but in Cyprus a similar origin may

\* With Plate A and a text figure.



be suggested for the characteristic loin-cloth of early classical times,<sup>20</sup> in which the hind apron is prolonged to a point drawn forwards between the legs and upwards in front, to be tied or buttoned to the belt or below it. This remained in use till the end of the sixth century. The Homeric ζωστήρ and the early Greek διαζώμα (Thucydides i, 6) may have been of this fashion; but no representations of them are preserved. Intermediates between this fore-and-aft loin-cloth and the 'towel'-kilt have the lower margin cut high over the hips, and stiffened with a broad border.<sup>21</sup> Some of them seem to have the front and back aprons connected between the thighs as in the Cypriote type.<sup>22</sup>

*Vest and Cloak.* Above the waist Minoan men usually wore nothing; but elders and dignitaries have a large shawl or blanket thrown foursquare over the shoulders.<sup>23</sup> Rarely this is sewn together down the front, bell-shaped on the shoulders, with a stiff spreading border below.<sup>24</sup> Its elaborate scale-pattern of embroidery shows that it is not a garment for every day; nor is it armour, though it seems to have had armholes. At Petsofa one figure wears a plaid wrapped round the waist, with the ends thrown backwards over each shoulder and tucked into the waist-fold behind, exactly as worn by a Scottish shepherd.

In the Late Minoan period<sup>26</sup> there are representations of a vest, or tunic, consisting of two rectangular pieces of textile, front and back sewn together from the lower edge to the armpits, and then from the arms to the neck, forming shoulder-straps, so that the vest needed no other fastening. Later there was a slit in front of the neck, closed by laces, hooks or buttons. The lateral seams and the shoulder-seams are usually emphasized by a broad band of colour, and sometimes the arm-and-neck openings have the same, evidently an applied braid or binding.

Quite late (L.M. III) a similar vest, but much longer, is worn both by men and by women, with the addition of short sleeves continuous with the back and front of the garment from the shoulder-seams:<sup>27</sup> there is no attempt to insert a separate sleeve-piece: compare the women's bodices below. Evidently this garment is the counterpart of the baggy trousers, except that the armholes are left in the sides, not in the end of the 'bag.' It is quite distinct, in structure and origin, from the primitive oriental undergarment,<sup>28</sup> which is of a single piece sewn together down the front, and on either side of the neck for shoulder-straps, and slit from the shoulders downwards for armholes.<sup>29</sup> In B 251 the dead man in front of his tomb is wrapped in a mere sheet with selvedge down the front and no sleeve-holes. This is the prototype of the Greek 'Ionic' χιτών for women which Herodotus (v. 87) says was 'Carian,' that is, West Asiatic. Herodotus notes the rasselled linen *chitons* of Egypt (iv. 81) and the embroidered sleeves (clearly 'inserted') of Persian men (vii. 61); and it is contrasted by Greek writers with the so-called 'Doric' *chiton* which belongs to the alternative type of costume, a mere wrapper like a blanket, open up one of its vertical sides, and requiring pins to fasten it.

The Late Minoan vest is represented in Cyprus and survives there until classical times, with the traditional

broad band along the seams: with the 'Cypriote loin-cloth' it is worn inside the kilt, like a modern shirt in Europe and in Albania, whereas in modern Greece it is worn outside<sup>30</sup> or replaced by a linen kilt (*fustanella*).

### Women's Dress

Though later elaborate, Minoan women's dress is easily traced to the same elementary structure as that of the men. From the waist downwards a simple 'towel'-skirt descended to the feet, and was secured by a girdle looped on itself, with long ends. No doubt this skirt was originally open at its overfold, like that of the men; but at Petsofa,<sup>31</sup> where it is sewn together from tapering gores—of which one selvedge is exposed obliquely—it converges to form a conical tube. There is no trace of the 'baggy trouser' form in the Aegean, though this is widespread for women in the Mountain Zone to Persia and India. This simplest garment appears in the neolithic graves of the peat-bogs of Denmark and North-western Germany, already 'gathered' in deep folds at the waist, through which the girdle is threaded in holes cut for the purpose.<sup>32</sup> It is associated with a bodice or jacket<sup>46a</sup> which will be compared below with the Minoan bodice; and probably this primitive costume prevailed throughout peninsular Europe. It persists as the essential woman's dress until modern times. Sometimes it has attached a pad to relieve the constraint of the belt.<sup>33</sup>

But in Minoan Crete a very early—perhaps the earliest—garment makes provision also, with a similar foursquare shawl or blanket, for the upper part of the body as well as the lower,<sup>25</sup> by the simple expedient of wrapping the blanket angle-wise round the waist, so that the opposite angles overlap. From these angles, the lower margins—the outer one fringed, the inner a selvedge—diverged so as to give room for the knees and feet in front, and converged to the downward angle which may reach the ground behind, and provides both protection and a seat on rough ground.<sup>34</sup> Meanwhile the upper margins diverge at or below the breasts and leave the throat exposed, and converge behind the head at the fourth angle. One of these upper edges would be fringed, the inner one a selvedge. This upper angle, if the garment is large enough, can be drawn forward as a hood over the head and secured by a band or a pin to the hair; or it can be thrown backwards, and hang reversed between the shoulders, giving double protection against cold. This is the normal dress of the votive women at Petsofa (Plate A),<sup>35</sup> where the oblique lower margins are shown as bands of ornaments, and the upper point as an upstanding 'Medici' collar. In the best preserved of these figures the arms protrude from the outer surface of this garment, as if they were thrust through slits near the upper edges. The girdle is a slip knot with long hanging ends.<sup>36</sup>

Rarely, the women at Petsofa wear a foursquare towel as an apron in front, hanging from the girdle.<sup>37</sup> This apron, originally a household precaution, later became an ornate overskirt in full dress, shaped over the hips and hanging to the knee before and behind.<sup>43</sup> This pointed and roughly triangular shape may also have resulted from wearing a





FIG. 1. MINOAN DRESS: ANCIENT EXAMPLES AND MODERN SURVIVALS  
Re-drawn by Miss Mary Potter, Oxford



larger square of textile folded diagonally and tied round the waist by its lateral angles.

Some Minoan skirts, however, of later date but of the foursquare style first mentioned, ended at the belt, which was of the same elaborate construction as that of the men, and for the same reason, to compress the waist. It also served to secure numerous overskirts, each shorter than the one below it, with stiff outstanding edges.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes these were consolidated with the foundation skirt as flounces, straight or zig-zag.<sup>39</sup> The whole garment was sometimes stiffened by a crinoline frame<sup>40</sup> and sometimes also looks as if it were a 'divided skirt' sewn up between the legs.<sup>41</sup>

*Bodice or Jacket.* With these belted skirts further protection was needed above the waist, and the same simple device supplied it. A smaller 'square' of textile, like the 'one-piece'<sup>42</sup> costume already described, was wrapped corner-wise under or over the arms, crossed in front, and secured by a vertical pin. The latter survived in the most elaborate laced corsets (e.g. the 'Cambridge Goddess'),<sup>43</sup> and one or two examples of it are known: it has nothing to do with the eventual 'safety pin' fibula.

This 'bodice' or 'jacket' underwent the same adaptations as the 'one-piece' costume, but more elaborately: even in its elaborated styles it could still be attached to the skirt as a single garment.<sup>43a</sup> (a) the downward angle was worn within the belt, or cut away, as in the 'Zouave' jacket which is worn from Persia to Moorish Africa. It could also be retained as a 'back-pannier' or overskirt, but there is no certain example of this. (b) The lateral angles were cut away and replaced by straight edges, which were drawn together by laces, or loops with buttons.<sup>44</sup> This was probably primæval, since one of these edges must have been a tassel-edge, and the other a strong selvedge, in which button-holes could be cut. The lack of evidence on this point is examined separately below. (c) The upper angle became a standing collar, which varied in shape, and could be worn like a sailor's collar, either erect or folded back over the shoulders. (d) The slits for the arms, cross-slit at the ends, provided free flaps behind the arms; which were also decorated and stiffened like the collar between them<sup>45</sup>; or they were elongated and laced round the upper arm, like a sleeve. (e) Sometimes the whole bodice was reinforced with stays.

*The Foursquare Bodice.* It is not easy to distinguish some of these variants from derivatives of the primitive European bodice,<sup>46</sup> which in colder climates protected the neck, throat and arms by a foursquare garment worn over both shoulders, but slit in the middle of the upper margin to make a place for the neck, and in the middle of each side margin to provide a closed sleeve above, and a free flap below the arms<sup>47</sup> which folded over the opposite flap and was secured by strings or buttons.<sup>48</sup> Note here as throughout this primitive dress-making, the care taken to avoid waste of textile or fur, and unnecessary seams.

*The Long Robe.* On Late Minoan frescoes and on vases from Cyprus, a long foldless garment hangs from the shoulders nearly to the feet, and seems to have arm-holes and perhaps sleeves; but the drawing is conventional and

vague.<sup>49</sup> As the figures are all in profile, it is uncertain whether it was closed in front like the Ionic *chiton*, or was an open overgarment.<sup>50</sup> Sometimes it is decorated with many dots, a conventional representation of wool or fur. It usually has a well-marked border, but no girdle.

### *Beads and Buttons*

It is now time to consider the ways in which open garments could be temporarily closed or held together. The fringe-edges of any textile could be knotted or plaited into knots or loops; and a knot could be passed through an opposite loop. On a selvedge, which was stronger, beads or buttons could be sewn, or button-holes cut; or a toggle took the place of a pair of buttons. The rarity of early buttons is easily explained, for a button is but a lop-sided bead, and in neolithic Europe goes back to the bead with V-perforation. On the peasant costumes of Greece and the Balkan lands normal beads commonly replace buttons, and crochet loops along a selvedge avoid cutting button-holes in the fabric. Probably many of the isolated beads in early graves were used as buttons on garments that have perished.

The customary distinction between garments which do, or do not, need a dress-pin—not to mention a safety-pin (fibula)—is therefore not absolute. A notable anomaly is the use already mentioned (cf. <sup>47</sup>) of a hook-headed pin to lace together two edges with crochet loops or metal rings, instead of a row of buttons or beads.

### *Headdresses*

Minoan men usually wear no head-gear: their hair is dressed in long ringlets falling below the shoulders behind, and more closely curled above the forehead.<sup>51</sup> Rarely there is a flat hat with a brim, like the modern Cretan straw hat.<sup>52</sup>

Minoan women wear their hair in long ringlets over the shoulders and closer curls piled on the head or behind the neck.<sup>53</sup> There are many varieties of straight hairpins with ornamental heads, and some traces of a band above the forehead.<sup>54</sup> At Petsofa large flat hats are worn pinned far back on the head, and rising high in front, sometimes with rosettes or flowers beneath the brim.<sup>55</sup> At Knossos there are flat caps,<sup>56</sup> elaborate tiaras, crown-like<sup>57</sup> or high and conical,<sup>58</sup> with a cat,<sup>59</sup> snake,<sup>60</sup> and other ornaments. A woman from Tylissos wears a close-fitting cap with decorated edge.

### *Footwear and Gloves*

Characteristic of Minoan men are the top-boots rising nearly to the knee, of white leather like those of modern Crete. There were also sandals, with several straps laced through the margin of the sole,<sup>61</sup> and leathern leggings. The women seem to have been usually barefoot.<sup>62</sup> Gloves were worn.<sup>63</sup>

### *Survivals of the Minoan Types of Dress*

Examples have been already noted, of the widespread occurrence of modern peasant costumes which closely



resemble the Minoan, and especially the three-piece woman's dress, of skirt, bodice, and apron; and of the very early appearance of the same type, for example in the early bronze age tumulus of Borum-Eshoi in Denmark.<sup>32 46a</sup>

These resemblances are the more notable when account is taken of the later habit, also very widespread, of supplementing the essential costume with 'underclothing,' the purpose of which is indicated in its Italian name *mutande*; that is to say, made of a light textile such as linen, which can be frequently changed and washed. The distribution of such underclothing is closely connected with the spread of knowledge of linen from Egypt, where alone it can be shown to be immemorial, or from Babylonia, where the evidence is less complete; but the dress of historic times presumes the use of undergarments, especially in the frequency of an overgarment which is open in front from the neck downwards. This 'night-gown-and-dressing-gown' fashion, indeed, is fundamental in Hither Asia south of the mountain-zone, and has penetrated deeply also into the Highland, with the spread of Babylonian culture.

It is remarkable, in view of the early intercourse between Crete and Egypt, that there is not evidence of linen underclothing in Minoan costume. But the attempt to discover it has rested on the misinterpretation of necklaces and bracelets as hems of tight-fitting vests: and on the other hand, the representations of nude females putting on the heavy flounced skirts<sup>64</sup> are conclusive. This does not mean that linen was unknown. The dead man's shroud on the Hagia Triada Sarcophagus<sup>65</sup>—white with a broad red border—may be either linen or woollen, as the white skirts of fleeces in the same painting show, but the sleeved dresses of other figures are of the same fashion as dresses elsewhere which are patterned, and certainly not linen. But linen was not common, though in the Homeric Age its use was well established, alongside white woollens. The only possible representation is of a seated woman at Petsofa<sup>66</sup> who seems to wear a loose-fitting tubular garment from neck to knees or below.

The striking differences in costume which result from the use of linen underclothing are best illustrated from the developments which resulted from the use of starch at the close of the sixteenth century: examples are the Swiss peasant costumes with deeply 'gauffered' frilling above the low-cut jacket, and large balloon sleeves for men and women alike<sup>A</sup>; and the fantastic pleated *fustanella* of mainland Greece<sup>30</sup>—now a separate garment, sewn into a belt—which originated in the practice, still common, of wearing the tails of the linen (or cotton) shirt outside the tight-fitting breeches derived (as above) from the primitive loin-cloth. The same costume has wide bell-sleeves on its linen vest, emerging from the sleeveless jacket, which has been adopted for men in modern Greek mainland costumes.<sup>30</sup> The Europeanized Greek court-dress named after Queen Amalia<sup>B</sup> is essentially the same as the traditional costume of Samos; and the same components, skirt, apron, belt, open jacket and linen vest with sleeves, persist in the peasant costumes of Epirus,<sup>C</sup> with the addition of a sleeved overcoat, open in front, which has intruded from the Turkish women's dress of Asia Minor, in the old

'night-gown-and-dressing-gown' tradition which survives in Calymnos and other islands off the Anatolian coast.

### References

- PM I-IV: Evans A. J., *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I-IV, 1901-36 and Index. S.V. Dress: Votive  
 B: Bossert, H., *The Art of Ancient Crete*, London, 1937.  
 BSA IX: *British School Annual*, London, 1902-3, 356-387, pl. VII-XIII.  
 Crossfield, Lady D., *Dances of Greece*, London, 1948, pl. 1-4.

### Men's Dress

- 1 Textile selvedge and fringe-edge.
- 2 B 545.
- 3 Textile with warp-pattern.
- 4 Textile with woof-pattern.
- 5 BSA 545-8; fringes PM II 744, fig. 479.
- 6 B 269, 275, 285 b, 316, 321, 516, 538; PM II 34ff., III 444ff.
- 7 B 545.
- 8 B 285.
- 9 B 228-9, 231.
- 10 PM I 151; II suppl. pl. XIII.
- 11 BSA IX 378, pl. XI, 32, 33.
- 12 BSA IX 83, fig. 58, cushion-belt.
- 13 B 390 a, 398 c, h.
- 14 B fig. 15, s-v; PM II suppl. pl. XVII.
- 15 Sack-shaped 'Turkish' trousers.
- 16 Sack-shaped, girt high: modern Cretan (after *Dances of Greece*, pl. 2).
- 17 Tight breeches and *fustanella* skirt: modern Greek (see 30).
- 18 B 320-22.
- 19 PM III suppl. pl. XXXIX b, c.
- 20 Cypriote loin-cloth: Myres, *Hdbk. Cesnola Coll.*, New York, 1915, no. 1045-47.
- 21 Minoan loin-cloth, side view: see 6.
- 22 PM IV 197.
- 23 B 394f., 458, 483, 502.
- 24 B 276, 280; PM II suppl. pl. XVII.
- 25 BSA IX 345-6, pl. X 11.
- 26 B 41, 42: vest or tunic, sewn at one side.
- 27 PM IV 388, fig. 333; 403, fig. 335; 413-4, figs. 341-2.
- 28 Oriental vest, sewn up the front.
- 29 B 251: dead man in sheet with selvedge.
- 30 Modern Greek: tight breeches, *fustanella* skirt, belt and jacket (after *Dances of Greece*, pl. 4).

### Women's Dress

- 31 B 288.
- 32 Northern gathered skirt: Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertums kunde*, 1897, fig. 131.
- 33 BSA IX pl. XI, 28.
- 34 Minoan primitive wrapper: B 288, 297.
- 35 Petsofa, B 281; Knossos, BSA IX 75-77, figs. 54-57 and 82, fig. 58; PM IV 194, fig. 152, suppl. pl. XLVII.
- 36 B 288, 289; PM I 277, fig. 207 k; II 33, fig. 15.
- 37 BSA IX pl. XI 27; PM III 432, fig. 392.
- 38 B 34, 40, 209, 312-15, 387-399; 400 fig. 401 a; 503, 550.
- 39 B 297.
- 40 B 397 bd; PM IV 344, fig. 287 c and 608, fig. 597 k.
- 41 PM IV 314-5, figs. 330-1.
- 42 Minoan primitive bodice.
- 43 Corset-pin: PM II 236; IV fig. 123 b; 176, fig. 139.
- 43a BSA IX 82, fig. 58.
- 44 B 51; PM III 441, fig. 30 (Boston).
- 45 B 40, 255, 314-5; PM III 28, fig. 15 A; 92-7, figs. 30-34; IV 32, figs. 17, 49, pl. XVII, 176, fig. 139. Stays: PM IV 31-2.
- 46 B 34; BSA IX 384, fig. 3. Sophus Müller, *Nordische Altertums kunde*, 1887, fig. 135. In modern Chios the slit is up the front: Argenti and Rose, *Folklore of Chios*, 1949, fig. 70.



47 PM III 370, pl. XXV.

48 B 290, 295.

49 B 32; PM II 33.

50 B 150.

#### Headdresses, etc.

51 B 90, 280.

52 PM III 461, 475.

53 B 34; PM IV 384-5, fig. 319, pl. XXXI.

54 B 64, 81, 88, 227, 235, 500-1, 503.

55 B 83 a-d, 86, 87, 281, 288, 317.

56 PM III 427, fig. 297; IV 393, fig. 329 a.

57 B 290, 501, 507.

58 B 289; PM II 236, fig. 123 b; IV 36, fig. 4, suppl. pl. XLIV and 76, fig. 134, suppl. pl. XLVII.

59 PM III 443, fig. 306.

60 B 401 c.

61 PM IV 728, fig. 453.

62 PM II 235, 781; III 82.

63 PM IV 387.

64 PM IV 344, fig. 237 c.

65 B 251, Hagia Triada; PM III 69, fig. 39.

66 BSA IX pl. XI, 25, 26.

A Modern Swiss peasant costume.

B Modern Greek 'Amalia' costume: *Dances of Greece*, pl. 3.

C Modern Greek Epirote costume: *Dances of Greece*, pl. 1.

## OBITUARIES

### Ignaz Zollschan, 1877-1948

The Royal Anthropological Institute has lost a Fellow who came to Britain some time before the declaration of war in 1939. Dr. Ignaz Zollschan, born in 1877 and educated in medicine at the University of Vienna, became one of the pioneers of X-ray therapy. He subsequently lectured and organized health services in connexion with the University of Jerusalem, and also at Warsaw. President Masaryk supported his plea for an objective and international enquiry into the meaning of race and the prejudices which that term calls up. Coming to live in retirement in England, Dr. Zollschan gathered support for this enquiry, but the outbreak of war put his project out of practical politics. He was naturalized as a British citizen and often attended and took part in meetings at the Institute.

H. J. FLEURE

### William James Perry, 1887-1949

The death of Dr. W. J. Perry, M.A., D.Sc., on 29 April removes the last of the great trio of champions of the Diffusionist movement in British anthropology. With Rivers and Elliot Smith, he was active from about 1914 until his premature retirement in 1939, consequent on ill health which cut



FIG. 1. WILLIAM JAMES PERRY

short the fulfilment of his life's work, besides depriving anthropology of an original and stimulating thinker.

From the City of London School, Perry went to Cambridge to read maths, and while there he attended lectures by Haddon and Rivers and developed an overwhelming interest in anthropology. The first fruits of the studies in his leisure time from school-mastering issued in 1919 in *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, prepared under Rivers's inspiration during the period when the

latter was defining his new approach to the methods of ethnology. Soon after, Perry was offered the Readership in Comparative Religion at Manchester University, and the next four years there, in close association with Elliot Smith, were important for the development of Perry's ideas, culminating, in 1923, in his major work, *The Children of the Sun*, by which he became known throughout the anthropological world. In that year he came to London as Reader in Cultural Anthropology in the Department of Human Studies set up at University College by Elliot Smith. Perry was Frazer Lecturer in 1924 and Upton Lecturer in the History of Religions at Manchester College, Oxford.

Already the illness was showing itself which was to afflict him for the rest of his life, and in 1930 he visited South Africa in search of health and field experience. He found the latter among the Pondo, but was unsuccessful as regards the former, and after a sojourn during which he was happy in making new and renewing old friendships, he returned home to carry on against increasing odds at University College. Sheer strength of will enabled him to continue work on the new book he had planned, and it appeared in 1935 as *The Primordial Ocean*. In 1939 Perry finally had to give up, and he retired to his home in Hertfordshire, where he greatly missed friendly contacts with the anthropological world. Despite his physical disability he was mentally active, reading extensively up till the time of his death. It was an increasingly distressing experience during the last few years to witness his efforts to express the thoughts which were undoubtedly crowding in on his mind, yet bearing up so valiantly and cheerfully under his affliction.

Perry's was a happy and friendly character, blended of humour, forthrightness and keen perception, and impatient of cant and humbug. Despite the violence of the controversies in which he was involved over the Diffusion issue, he maintained the most friendly relations with most of those who publicly disputed his views. His modesty and sense of proportion enabled him to meet their criticisms and condemnation of his ideas with that quiet chuckle and twinkling of the eyes which disarmed the most intractable. All were welcomed to his room at U.C., whatever their opinions, to talk, argue or lecture. He spared no pains with his students if they responded to his enthusiasm for his subject, and he inspired them with lasting affection and respect.

Space does not allow of the detailed analysis of Perry's contributions to anthropological theory which they merit, and only their general import can be indicated here.

Perry ranged widely over the field of cultural anthropology inspired by Rivers's historical approach and by Elliot Smith's belief in the Egyptian origin of early civilization. Perry's contributions were, however, uniquely his own, and always bore the stamp of his distinctive bent. Not bound by traditional formulas, he was able to set out problems in their simplest terms and widest frame-



work, and thus to build up a logically coherent story uncoloured by theoretical preconceptions. Primarily, Perry established the dynamics of diffusion by showing how the distribution of culture traits was related to that of the various substances which had been sought by men throughout human history. The spread of culture was shown to be essentially the result of human activities motivated by the search for the desired substances. Perry's principle books form a sequence expounding and elaborating this theme in all its ramifications.

Starting with the detailed study, in *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, of a limited region crucial for the problem of the transmission of peoples and cultures from Asia into the Pacific, principles emerged which were recognized to have world-wide implications. These were worked out with great thoroughness in *The Children of the Sun*, wherein the application of the principle of cultural continuity led as a logical consequence to the view of a single centre of origin for early civilization. In two small popular books Perry summarized his general findings and extended them tentatively to some cultural phenomena not considered in the larger book. In *The Primordial Ocean* Perry culled the psychological implications of those studies into an Introductory Social

Psychology, approached from the social and cultural angles, as desiderated many years before by his first teacher, Rivers, and the results marched well with the findings of Behaviourist psychology. It is likely that Perry would have capped all with a wider synthesis, towards which his thoughts were latterly moving, of a philosophy of civilization, had he lived.

This bare outline gives no indication of the richness and suggestiveness of Perry's studies. Of outstanding significance were the definition of the status and import of the Food-gatherers, the investigation of the Dual Organization, the cultural analysis of war, and the elucidation of the principle of dynastic continuity. In his last book Perry adumbrated some considerations vitally important for the understanding of cultural development. On the one hand he sought to show that all ideas in early civilization were derived from concrete situations, and were not the spontaneous manifestations of imaginative invention, and on the other he showed that the concept of gradual evolution in arts and crafts breaks down in most specific cases.

Despite plentiful criticism, Perry's work has stood up to the test of time, and its full potentialities have scarcely yet been appreciated. Its fruition will come. CLAYTON JOEL

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee, Second Report: Iron Objects from Azarbaijan

#### 4

#### *Third and early Second Millennium Iron*

It is usually said that iron of terrestrial origin contains only a small percentage of nickel, while meteoric iron normally contains between five and ten per cent. of nickel. The third millennium examples of iron, which are well authenticated and have been worked by man, from the Near East are as follows<sup>1</sup>:—(i) terrestrial iron, found at Tell Asmar, stated to be of 2700 B.C.; (ii) terrestrial iron, found at Tell Chagar Bazar, Level V; (iii) terrestrial iron, found at Geoy Tepe, D Period<sup>2</sup> (analysis attached, No. 1234); (iv) terrestrial iron, found at Geoy Tepe, D or C Period (analysis attached, No. 1237); (v) meteoric iron, found at Ur, in the 'Royal Cemetery'; (vi) iron not analyzed, found at Alaca, in the cemetery.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the foregoing, there are two pieces of iron (vii, viii) which came originally from one single piece, belonging to 'Treasure L' of Troy III. One contains 2.44 per cent. of nickel, the other 3.91 per cent.<sup>4</sup> Lastly, there is a piece (ix) of what appears to be iron ore from Geoy Tepe of the C Period, the analysis of which is attached (No. 1233). Apart from the meteoric iron beads found by Mr. Wainwright in an Egyptian Predynastic grave and dating, doubtless, from before 3000 B.C., there is no iron earlier than the examples listed above, for the Egyptian Old Kingdom pieces are not fully confirmed. All the Asiatic pieces except the Tell Asmar one can probably be dated to the same epoch, between 2300 and 2000 B.C., though No. 1233 from Geoy Tepe is most probably of early Second Millennium date. This is the time of the first example of Dynastic days in Egypt, an amulet of the XIth Dynasty, made of meteoric iron.<sup>5</sup>

The Tell Chagar Bazar piece can be dated by the fact that it was found in the same level as Nineveh V ware. But as the date of that period has been made the subject of some controversy, it requires examination. There are two types of pottery characteristic of the Nineveh V Period: one is dark-on-light painted ware, and the other is a grey ware with incised decoration. Professor Mallowan has shown that a characteristic shape of the

grey ware is found in the tombs of the cemetery at Tepe Ali Abad, where there was also polychrome painted pottery, more or less of the type known as Susa II. There are also parallels between the painted ware of Nineveh V strata and other pottery, for Nineveh V motifs, such as festoons,<sup>6</sup> birds (especially birds in rows),<sup>7</sup> horizontal rows of solidly painted triangles<sup>8</sup> and the 'Union Jack' design,<sup>9</sup> all occur on Geoy Tepe D ware. Certain shapes of bowls are common also to those two wares,<sup>10</sup> though polychrome decoration is not known to occur on Nineveh V pots. The pottery found below the Nineveh V stratum is also paralleled elsewhere, for it includes ware with incised decoration, and also with decoration of raised ribs, or 'cable' bands,<sup>11</sup> which appear on the H and G strata pots at Ashur, strata to be dated after 2500 B.C.<sup>12</sup> Similar pottery is found below the D Period level at Geoy Tepe. Some seal impressions were found in the strata of Nineveh V, one of which 'can definitely be dated to the Akkadian Period,' while another 'is probably early Akkadian.'<sup>13</sup> Also in those strata were two pots of the 'baggy' shape which begins to appear in Egypt at the time of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>14</sup> There is thus evidence to suggest that the Nineveh V Period can be dated to the later half of the third millennium, beginning perhaps at about 2400 B.C.

The D Period at Geoy Tepe was the time when polychrome decorated pottery came into use. It has been dated to the later part of the third millennium at its first appearance. The C Period is later.

The 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur is much later than was at first believed, and stated. The later part of the cemetery overlaps with the Ashur H and G Periods, the Susa II Period and the later part of the Kish 'A' Period. Since the later part of the Kish 'A' Period is probably contemporary with the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty and the First Intermediate Period, the later part of the 'Royal Cemetery' may be as late as 2400 B.C. The cemetery at Alaca is often dated to the end of the third millennium, no doubt correctly; and the date of the beginning of the Troy III Period is stated by Professor Blegen to be about 2300 B.C.

It seems likely that all the early pieces of iron in the Near East, dating between 3000 and 2000 B.C., belong to the last centuries of



that period, with the exception of the piece found at Tell Asmar. Such uniformity is not unlikely when it is realized how few examples of the metal there are of third millennium date, and how improbable it would be that they should be the result of independent invention in a series of adjacent lands, especially since there are few known pieces of iron from later centuries before 1200 B.C.

There is little information how iron was worked in early days. The tool from Ur is said to have been worked when moderately hot. The piece (No. 1234) from Geoy Tepe was not worked at all, which is not surprising, for it is a piece of cast iron, and doubtless nothing was then known of the procedure for making use of cast iron. But to cast it would have required a very efficient furnace and a temperature of at least 1250 degrees centigrade, which indicates considerable technical efficiency.

It is possible to draw the conclusion that the people who entered Azerbaijan at the time when the culture of the D Period was established, towards the end of the third millennium, were the first people there to try to make objects of iron. Since they and related folk may have spread very widely all over the Near East by 2000 B.C., it is possible that the appearance of iron objects in many countries is due to the arrival there of branches of these people.

The examination of the third millennium iron from Geoy Tepe was very kindly arranged by the Royal Anthropological Institute's Committee for Ancient Mining and Metallurgy; to the Committee, and to Mr. Lloyd of Messrs. Alfred Herbert (who carried out the necessary examination of the iron), I wish to express my very great gratitude. T. BURTON BROWN

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Good summaries of what is known of ancient iron objects are by G. A. Wainwright in *Antiquity* (March, 1936) and H. H. Coghlan in *MAN* (July, 1941).

<sup>2</sup> Found by T. Burton Brown in 1948 and awaiting publication. It was in the lowest part of the D Period strata, and is certainly not intrusive from a higher level.

<sup>3</sup> See, particularly, Hamit Bey, *Alaca Höyük Hafriyatı*, 1936. By a misprint, Mr. Coghlan's article referred to Alishar instead of Alaca.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, *Schliemann Sammlung*, Nos. 6116 a. and b.

<sup>5</sup> But it is possible that the iron dagger found by Mr. Brunton at Qau is ancient, although he believed it to be modern. See T. Burton Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, p. 89. If it is ancient, it is slightly older than the amulet.

<sup>6</sup> L.A.A.A., XIX, Pl. LIV, nos. 3, 4, 9.

<sup>7</sup> L.A.A.A., XIX, Pl. LIX, several examples at the top of the plate.

<sup>8</sup> L.A.A.A., XIX, Pl. LVII, no. 7.

<sup>9</sup> L.A.A.A., XX, Pl. LVIII, no. 1.

<sup>10</sup> L.A.A.A., XIX, Pl. LXI, nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 12.

<sup>11</sup> L.A.A.A., XX, Pl. XLIX, no. 37; Pl. L, nos. 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14; and Pl. LII, no. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Burton Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, p. 54.

<sup>13</sup> L.A.A.A., XX, p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> L.A.A.A., XVIII, Pl. XXXVI, nos. 2 and 3. Compare with Burton Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*, fig. 8B.

#### Description of Samples

No. 1234. Mainly metallic but partially 'decayed' and oxidized; infused and encrusted with mineral deposits; responds strongly to a magnetic field.

A flake of oxidized appearance was detached from the main mass for the analysis. The figures do not necessarily represent the sample as a whole, and there is doubt in regard to the form of some of the minor constituents. The mineral incrustations on the surface of the lump were ignored. It appears that the material of this sample has been to a large extent reduced from ore, and freed

COMPOSITION		per cent.
Iron, 81.47 per cent.	{as Fe . . .	50.40
	{as Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> . . .	44.40
Silicon (as such?) . . .		0.56
Alumina . . .		0.08
Lime . . .		0.40
Magnesia . . .		0.22
Copper . . .		0.02
Nickel and Cobalt . . .		0.08
Phosphorus (as such?) . . .		0.45
Sulphur (as such?) . . .		0.16
Titanium or oxide . . .		nil
Manganese . . .		0.03
Total Carbon . . .		3.51
		100.31

from siliceous matter in contact with a carbonaceous fuel, thus giving wholly, or in the main, a white cast iron which became partially decayed in course of time owing to mineral agencies.

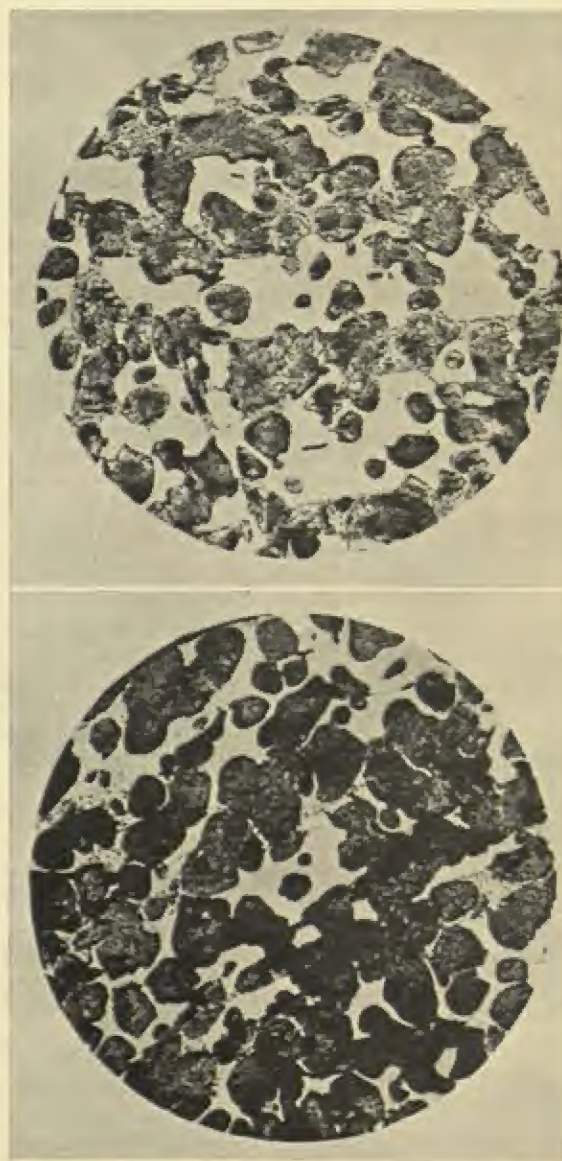


FIG. 1. MICRO-PHOTOGRAPHS OF SAMPLE 1234  
(a, above): white iron structure. (b, below): decayed metal structure



Photo-micrographs at 100 diameters magnification have been made from the original (fig. 1a, etched) and 'decayed' conditions (fig. 1b). Hardness tests with a Vickers type diamond pyramidal indenter under 1 K.G. load give values ranging from 378 D.P.N. on the pearlitic areas up to as high as 876 on the carbide areas (both as represented in fig. 1a).

No. 1237. Dark bluish-brown nugget; not metallic; dense in appearance but containing finely dispersed porosity; responds strongly to a magnetic field.

	COMPOSITION	per cent.
Iron, 69.30 per cent.	{as FeO . . . . .	14.73
	{as Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> . . . . .	82.67
Silica . . . . .		1.08
Alumina . . . . .		0.23
Lime . . . . .		0.25
Magnesia . . . . .		0.11
Cupric oxide . . . . .		0.10
Nickel oxide . . . . .		trace
Cobalt oxide . . . . .		trace
Phosphorus pentoxide . . . . .		0.18
Sulphuric anhydride . . . . .		0.05
Titanium dioxide . . . . .		trace
Manganous oxide . . . . .		0.04
Carbonaceous matter . . . . .		0.02
		99.46

The sample is uniform and the piece selected is likely to be representative of the bulk. It seems possible that the ferrous oxide content and the magnetic quality have been imparted to this sample by the action of heat.

No. 1233. Reddish-brown nugget; uniform; magnetic response not detectable in strong field.

	COMPOSITION	per cent.
Iron, 64.07 per cent.	{as FeO . . . . .	1.67
	{as Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub> . . . . .	89.69
Silica . . . . .		7.31
Alumina . . . . .		0.10
Lime . . . . .		0.29
Magnesia . . . . .		0.09
Cupric oxide . . . . .		0.03
Nickel oxide . . . . .		trace
Cobalt oxide . . . . .		trace
Phosphorus pentoxide . . . . .		0.21
Sulphuric anhydride . . . . .		0.05
Titanium dioxide . . . . .		nil
Manganous oxide . . . . .		0.06
Carbonaceous matter . . . . .		0.09
		99.59

Although containing ferrous oxide the material has hematite characteristics, and appears to be an ore; the analysis is likely to be representative of the bulk.

These three analyses were undertaken by Messrs. Alfred Herbert.

#### Early Iron Age Period iron

The A Period at Geoy Tepe can be dated to the beginning of the Iron Age. Characteristic pots of the A Period are paralleled not only elsewhere in Persia, as at Tepe Giyan and Tepe Sialk, but also in the north, at Trialeti in South Russian and at Redkin Lager in Armenia. There are also various shapes, and types of handles, of pots of the Geoy Tepe A Period which occur in Syria, Cyprus and the Aegean at the close of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

It is not known how the culture of the early Iron Age began, or whence it spread, though it is often assumed that it reached the Aegean from the Balkan area. It is at least as likely however that elements of that culture spread from, or through, North-west Persia to Syria and thence by sea to the Aegean. There is less material to support the former suggestion than the latter.

The analyses of a slag-like substance (No. 1235) and of part of the hilt of a sword (No. 1238), both of the A Period at Geoy Tepe, are quoted below.

T. BURTON BROWN

#### Description of Samples

No. 1235. Very heterogeneous; pieces responding to a magnetic field resemble No. 1234. Other fragments are similar to the mineral incrustations on No. 1234. The remaining variety in the sample is a whitish-green porous slag-like substance. This was selected for analysis. It is unaffected by magnetism.

	COMPOSITION	per cent.
Ferric oxide . . . . .		5.83
Silica . . . . .		58.80
Alumina . . . . .		12.72
Lime . . . . .		9.53
Magnesia . . . . .		4.48
Phosphorus pentoxide . . . . .		1.55
Sulphuric anhydride . . . . .		0.27
Potassium oxide (K <sub>2</sub> O) . . . . .		4.19
Sodium oxide (Na <sub>2</sub> O) . . . . .		2.54
Titanium oxide (TiO <sub>2</sub> ) . . . . .		0.50
		100.41

The colour of the sample suggests that the iron would mostly be in the ferrous condition before fusion with sodium peroxide for purposes of analysis. Nickel, cobalt and manganese were detected as very slight traces only.

No. 1238. Non-metallic and brittle; outer layers powdery due to modification of the hilt substance by geological influences. The bluish-black core material responds weakly to a magnetic field.

	COMPOSITION	General per cent.	Core per cent.
Ferrous oxide . . . . .		7.06	10.06
Ferric oxide . . . . .		64.62	70.26
Silica . . . . .		9.96	
Alumina . . . . .		0.63	
Lime . . . . .		2.90	
Magnesia . . . . .		1.04	
Copper oxide . . . . .		0.34	
Nickel and cobalt oxides . . . . .		0.15	
Phosphorus pentoxide . . . . .		0.34	
Sulphuric anhydride . . . . .		0.27	
Titanium dioxide . . . . .		nil	
Manganous oxide . . . . .		trace	
		87.31	
Loss on ignition } (CO <sub>2</sub> , H <sub>2</sub> O, etc.)		12.80	
		100.11	

The 'general' composition will represent a moderately accurate average for the whole sample, whereas the supplementary determinations of iron oxides were from the bluish-black material left in the centre. This mixture of iron oxides has a laminated structure reminiscent of piled iron, and strongly resembles No. 1237, except that the latter is more porous and does not show evidence of hot working.

These samples were analysed by Messrs. Alfred Herbert.



## SHORTER NOTES

**L'Homme: A Forthcoming Publication**

5 A new publication, *L'Homme: cahiers d'ethnologie, de géographie et de linguistique*, edited by a board consisting of Emile Benveniste, Pierre Gourou (both Professors at the Collège de France) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (Sub-director of the Musée de L'Homme), will appear shortly under the auspices of the École Pratique des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne. Articles up to 32 pages long (in the format of the *American Anthropologist*) will be issued by twos or threes as symposia on particular topics; longer ones will be published separately.

*L'Homme* will welcome contributions from foreign anthropologists, which will generally be published in the language in which they are written, and will be particularly glad to receive books and periodicals for review, as it is practically impossible for French libraries to acquire them. Book reviews, critical notes and the like will be issued at intervals as special leaflets.

All correspondence, including books and periodicals for review, should be sent to Claude Lévi-Strauss, Musée de L'Homme, Palais de Chaillot, Paris 16e, France.

**The Sarawak Museum Journal**

6 Mr. Tom Harrison, the energetic curator of the Sarawak Museum, has revived an important though little-known periodical that had a somewhat chequered existence between 1911 and 1937. A large proportion of the present issue—Vol. V, New Series, No. 1 (Old Series, No. 16), Kuching, 1949; annual subscription \$6.00 Straits currency—is devoted to matters of ethnographic and archaeological interest, and

this emphasis is apparently likely to continue. Subscribers are promised at least one issue per annum. The field of interest of the journal is intended to cover the whole of Borneo. A substantial proportion of the contributors to the present issue are themselves natives of the country. Anthropologically the most important contributions would appear to be (a) an analysis by H. D. Collings, of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, of neolithic tools collected by Harrison on the Kelabit Plateau; (b) linguistic material on the Murut languages by C. H. Southwell, A. Bolang and Harrison, which carries the classification of the population of North Central Borneo a step further; and (c) an article by G. Roberts, which attempts a sub-classification of the long-neglected Sadong Land Dayaks. Mr. Harrison's enterprise in reviving this journal deserves every encouragement. On the basis of this first issue it deserves a place in every anthropological library; for anyone with special interests in the ethnography of Indonesia it is essential.

E. R. LEACH

**African Abstracts: A New Publication**

7 The International African Institute, with the assistance of UNESCO, in January 1950 issued the first number of *African Abstracts: Bulletin Analytique Africaniste*, a quarterly review of ethnographic, social and linguistic studies appearing in current periodicals, many of which are not easily accessible outside their country of origin. The abstracts, which are in English or French, are informative summaries of the material, with the results obtained or the conclusions reached. The editor is Professor Daryll Forde, who has the assistance of an international board of advisers.

## REVIEWS

## AFRICA

**Early Khartoum.** By A. J. Arkell. O.U.P. (for Sudan Government), 1949. Pp. xvi, 145, and 113 plates. Price 5 guineas

8 This lavishly produced volume records discoveries of the highest importance for the prehistory of the whole of North Africa, and makes available for study a whole new range of material, particularly in pottery. The author describes the excavation in the town of Khartoum of a prehistoric village settlement of a culture previously known only from surface collections made by him in the preceding few years. Unfortunately the site was badly disturbed by late burials, most of which date from the siege of Khartoum in 1884, so that all stratification was destroyed and the chronological value of the finds severely reduced.

The site is shown to have been a small village settlement of a Negroid people on the bank of the Nile, the main features of whose culture were a microlithic industry having analogies with the Capsian and Upper Sebilian, barbed bone spearheads and harpoons, and a pottery of previously unknown type, the main characteristic of which was a decoration of wavy lines made by combing with the spine of a catfish. It is from this feature that the excavator has derived the term 'Wavy Line culture.' These people seem to have been food-gatherers and not to have known agriculture; there is evidence that fish was one of the main items of their diet. The occurrence of a number of grindstones is explained by Arkell as being for the grinding of ochre for personal adornment rather than for corn.

Two other early cultures discovered in the Khartoum area are also described: they are the 'Gouge culture,' which is so called from the occurrence of an implement identical with the gouge found in the Fayum Neolithic A, but the pottery from which is quite different, being a hard red or brown ware decorated with impressed patterns; and the 'Omdurman Bridge culture,' named from its place of discovery, of which the main feature is large pots of black and brown

rippled ware. The choice of three different criteria for the nomenclature of these cultures is rather unfortunate and confusing; might it not be better to call them merely Early Khartoum A, B, and C at this stage?

The relation between these cultures is as yet unknown, as they have never been found together on a stratified site. The author gives some reasons for tentatively equating his Omdurman Bridge culture with Egyptian proto-dynastic, the Gouge culture with pre-dynastic, and the Wavy Line earlier still, but the evidence is very slight. Furthermore, to suggest an African origin for pottery on the evidence of one disturbed site is pushing speculation beyond its reasonable limits. The author seems not to have taken into account the easily observable fact that throughout a great deal of its history the Sudan has lagged behind developments in other parts of the world and has preserved ancient materials and techniques long after they had ceased to be used in more advanced countries. Culturally the people described in *Early Khartoum* are extremely primitive, but they may not be as chronologically remote as their standard of living suggests.

In spite of this criticism the book is an excellent one and marks a most important step forward in the study of Sudan prehistory. Its value is greatly enhanced by the author's deep knowledge of the country, which enables him to point out many valuable analogies with the life of modern people.

P. L. SHINNIE

**History of the Gold Coast.** By W. E. F. Ward. London (Allen & Unwin), 1948. Pp. 387, maps and illustrations. Price 21s.

9 **History of Nigeria.** By Sir Alan Burns, G.C.M.G. Fourth edition. London (Allen & Unwin), 1948. Pp. 332, map. Price 21s.

For many years Mr. Ward's *Short History of the Gold Coast* has been used as the standard textbook in Gold Coast schools. Now he



has published an expanded and amended version, which is based frankly upon the earlier work of Claridge, but which includes a considerable amount of additional traditional material from the anthropological works of Rattray, Field and Fortes and from Mr. Ward's own personal investigations in the Gold Coast. Mr. Ward does not give a detailed account of his methods of collecting and cross-checking his material, but in his introduction he does consider the question of its reliability. It is obvious that he has a very real sympathy with his informants and felt a strong sense of their integrity as well as of their courtesy in allowing him into the secrets of their unwritten past. He also establishes a strong case for the substantial accuracy of their stories by referring to the remarkable consistency between accounts from different informants. As he says himself, this history is 'drum-and-trumpet' history, but it is nonetheless interesting and extremely important that it should be recorded before it dies with those who have been its guardians.

Mr. Ward has been criticized for the brevity of the later sections of his book—he devotes only 54 of the 362 pages of his main text to the period 1874–1946. This period is certainly the most important for an understanding of the problems of the modern Gold Coast, and it is true that a detailed historical study is badly needed. Such a study must, however, be based upon full documentary research into the archives, of which there is a large quantity now being sorted and surveyed, and Mr. Ward states clearly that this kind of study was not his aim. The traditional history which he has presented here may be corrected and expanded by others, but the book is bound to remain the standard general work for a considerable time to come. It is a pity that it should be so expensive as to lie beyond the means of most young students, including Gold Coasters.

Sir Alan Burns has issued a fourth edition of his well-known *History of Nigeria*, first published in 1920. Like Mr. Ward in the Gold Coast, Sir Alan Burns has as yet no rival in the field of Nigerian history. This new edition has been completely revised and brought up to date by the inclusion of a brief summary of events during the last twenty years, including the war period. Chapters on Religion and Education, Land Tenure, the Judicial System, the Civil Service, Communications and Trade and Industry make this volume more than a mere history, and it provides probably the best introductory reading for any general study of Nigeria.

BARBARA WARD

**The Bantu of North Kavirondo, Vol. I.** By Günter Wagner.

O.U.P. for Internat. African Inst., 1949. Pp. xx, 511, 16 plates and 2 maps. Price 45s.

IO Although the title of this book is *The Bantu of North Kavirondo*, the greater part of it relates to two tribes, the Vugusu or Kitosh in the north and the Logoli in the south (I quote tribal names as written by Wagner, though I should myself write Bukusu and Ragoli). It is true that other tribes are mentioned from time to time, particularly in the chapters dealing with clans, circumcision and age sets; but for the most part the book is a study of the family and ritual life of these two tribes, and one notices that in a number of places there is a lack of distinction: it is not always easy to tell (unless a language clue is provided) whether the author is writing of the Vugusu or Logoli. But the book contains a wealth of information which more than atones for this defect.

The district of North Kavirondo (now officially known as North Nyanza) is the home of a culturally homogeneous group of tribes commonly called the Bantu Kavirondo, who of recent years have devised for themselves a new collective name aBaluha, 'fellow-tribesmen.' They are surrounded by Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic peoples (Teso, Luo, Nandi and, in the past, Masai), their only link with Bantu neighbours being a narrow corridor leading to Busoga and Bugishu. Numbering today about 300,000, the Bantu Kavirondo are split up into some 17 or more tribes of varying sizes, none of which, with one exception, had chiefs until a system of government chiefs was established by the British Administration soon after 1890. The exception was the Hanga (Wanga), who formerly possessed a divine king of the same type as that of the Nyoro and Nkole of Uganda. For many years past the Bantu Kavirondo have been important both politically and economically; missions have been working among them for more than forty years; they are keen and

progressive farmers and traders; and their country is easy of access. Yet, to our shame it must be confessed, no attempt was made to study them in detail till Dr. Wagner began to work among them in 1934 as a Research Fellow of the International African Institute. He spent about two and a half years in the field, and the book now under review is the first volume of his detailed account. It is divided into four parts: (i) a general description of the country, the people and their history; (ii) the Elements of Kinship Structure; (iii) the Magico-Religious (*sic*); (iv) the Rites of Passage. The second volume, we are told on the dust cover, will deal with economics, law and administration; the third will cover language and folklore.

The study of kinship structure (pp. 40–89) includes the family, clan and lineage, and manifestations of kinship. Dr. Wagner shows that the family is economically a self-sufficient group; that polygyny, though favoured, is not as high as might be supposed; and that in spite of economic co-operation there is a social segregation between the sexes in the family. The clan, we are told, is a patrilineal, exogamous, territorial unit, and the normal clan name is that of the reputed founder, whereas among people like the Nandi the clan name is as a rule connected with the totem. Very little is said about totemism among the Bantu Kavirondo, and the treatment of this is weak. Dundas records 17 totemic clans among the Hanga (in *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XLIII, 1913, pp. 59f.) But I think that in general totemism is not strong among the Bantu Kavirondo; and the Isuxa basic unit or 'clan,' *uluriya*, is definitely a non-totemic exogamous unit, though each *uluriya* has its tree under which its council sits. Clans show tendencies to split into sub-groups bearing the main clan name, and as long as they are still within the main clan, these sub-groups comprise what Wagner calls lineages, a lineage usually comprising the direct descendants of a grandfather or a great-grandfather, people who can trace mutual relationship genealogically. The section on manifestations of kinship includes brief notes on kinship terms, behaviour, gift obligations, and mutual assistance, and ends with a list of Logoli and Vugusu relationship terms which omits the words for F.Br. and M.Sis. in Vugusu.

The third part of the book deals with magical and religious notions and practices, and begins with a thoughtful presentation of the system in which the author arranges his material for this extremely difficult subject. He describes how ordinary people can possess and handle what he calls 'public active magic,' like promotive magic in which various substances are used to influence human activities, and spoken magic like curses and blessings. He details the various kinds of ritual impurity and the dangers arising therefrom, and tells us that a common consequence of ritual pollution is that the offender will 'become the colour of a ripe banana and die' unless proper steps are taken (this expression occurs more than once, and I have met it in other Bantu Kavirondo tribes which do not come into this book). Dr. Wagner next devotes 33 pages to a discussion of 'specialists,' by which he denotes the two kinds of practitioner described by the Swahili word *mchawi*: the *omulogi* or *omulasi* and the *omuvila* (*-vira*, *-fila*, *-fira*). Both kinds kill and injure people, but the *avavila* also protect and cure people. The principal difference between them is that the *omulogi* inherits a mystical disposition to bewitch people, while a person can become *omuvila* by apprenticeship and teaching. The *omulogi* is considered thoroughly evil and is feared and despised, though seldom openly accused; the *omuvila* is tolerated because part of his work is beneficent. The protection afforded by diviners (*avakumu*), and the methods used to detect the work of the *avavila* and *avalegi* are described later on in the book (pp. 219–245), and Dr. Wagner brings out the importance of interrogating the injured person, which is such an essential part of the technique. Another type of specialist, the rainmaker, is described next, and the restricted distribution of rainmakers is noted. An interesting element in rain-making procedure is the use of horns to control the wind in addition to the materials used to bring and send away rain.

Next comes an account of the beliefs concerning the spirits of the dead, *emisambwa*; and a few pages are devoted to the Bantu Kavirondo notion of a 'supreme being.' This, I think, is the weakest part of the book, and does not, to my mind, sufficiently bring out the connexion between God, the ancestral spirits and the living, though the description of the spirits is clear.



To 'Measures of Protection and Prevention' Dr. Wagner devotes 116 pages. While illness and misfortune are usually attributed to supernatural causes, it is recognized that there may be also natural causes, and therefore both practical and magical measures are taken. It is noteworthy that there seems to have been no protective magic in war or hunting, though I am not sure that I agree with Wagner's explanation of this. Ritual prohibitions include avoidances between persons, and prohibitions against eating certain foods and killing certain animals, among which are what seem to be slight traces of totemism. Omens are described in some detail, and the author then passes to 'the taking of counter-measures,' which he rightly distinguishes from protective magic as being intended to combat mystical forces after the event. These measures include divination, the techniques of which are described, with the remark that divination, though developed by teaching, is an inherited disposition; rites of purification to restore ritual status; the neutralization of witchcraft; and the cult of the ancestors. This last includes the setting-up of spirit huts and, among the Logoli (and others also), of stones on which sacrifices are made. Troublesome spirits among the Vugusu are kept away by means of small huts, which according to Wagner frighten them away, though the Isuxa on the contrary make small huts intended to receive evil spirits and thus divert them from people's huts. Wagner does not mention this explanation, nor does he in fact tell us much about evil spirits or elementals, which occupy the thoughts of the Bantu Kavirondo a good deal.

The fourth part of the book, entitled 'The Rites of Passage,' deals with birth and the rituals connected with it, and with the subsequent events in the child's life; with circumcision and initiation (there is no female initiation); with marriage; and with death and mourning. Of the 209 pages devoted to this account of the life history of the individual, 43 are given up to circumcision, and the age sets of the Logoli, Tiriki and Vugusu are described. Wagner calls these age grades, a term not now used in this sense. It is clear that these age sets are derived from the Nandi, and Nandi age-set names occur freely in them, though the sets of the Logoli (and also of the Isuxa which he does not mention) are not cyclic but linear. These age sets, as Wagner says, are not a very important part of the structure of the tribes that have them. They possess neither military nor political functions, and though they may, as he suggests, support the proper working of the principle of seniority, they are not the essential part of tribal structure that they are among the Masai and Nandi.

I have described the contents of this book at some length, partly because it is the first instalment of a three-volume study of some importance and partly because the prospective buyer should know what he is getting for his money. Though the book is, unhappily,

expensive, it is worth buying, and is in most respects what a first study of a people should be: a straightforward descriptive account, with just enough theory. It is thus of practical value to the administrator and missionary, as well as of academic value to the anthropologist. The settler who employs Bantu Kavirondo labour would also do well to read it, for it is written simply and is of great interest. Dr. Wagner has in fact deserved the thanks of all who are concerned with Africa for a well performed piece of research and a good presentation of the results.

Nevertheless the book has its weak points. It is unfortunate that the second volume is not yet published, for we are given no clue as to the nature of the political organization of the people. The reader can of course go to Wagner's essay in *African Political Systems* (edited by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1941) to find out what the principles are, but this does not affect the book, in which so far we are not shown how social and political life are linked, and how the ancestor cult is bound up with tribal control. The arrangement of ethnographical data is always difficult; but I think that some account of the political situation should have been given in this first volume in order to present an integrated picture of the society. In fact, there is much to be said for prefixing to books of this sort a short synopsis of their contents—troublesome to prepare, I admit, but most helpful to the reader—which should appear in the first volume, and cover all the proposed volumes.

Among lesser matters, one wonders why it should be considered necessary to translate texts into poor English, for the texts are not delivered in bad vernacular, though the form of the translation often suggests that they are. The use of 'fox' for 'jackal' may be confusing. Misprints seem rare, though Slater for Selater occurs on p. 32. The account of the Kony on p. 13 is not quite accurate. Uasin Gishu Masai influence on the Nyala or Kabaras is much exaggerated (p. 11), for the people seen in Kabaras dressed as Masai are in fact Masai who were settled there by the Government, as Wagner himself notes on p. 16. 'Gishu' is not the name of a Masai tribe, as the Index suggests (p. 507), and the Bantu Gishu (better Gisu) do not really touch Vugusu territory. In connexion with Wagner's remark that there is 'a distinct Nilo-Hamitic admixture' in the Nyala, I may add that an Isuxa once told me that the Nyala were 'half Nandi,' and when asked what the other half was, he replied, 'There is no other half.' In actual fact there has been a certain amount of intermarriage between Nandi and Nyala, but not nearly enough to produce the effect that Wagner seems to suppose. The index is inadequate, and the orthography of the vernaculars is sometimes a little erratic. These points do not, however, detract from the real merits of the book, which is a sound and valuable contribution to the anthropology of Kenya.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Inventiveness of Savages.** Cf. MAN, 1949, 113, 141, 142, 157

**II** SIR,—Lord Raglan has not read my letter very carefully. It was only the last of a series of experiments by the Naga I mentioned which proved unsuccessful.

J. H. HUTTON

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge

**Hinduism.** Cf. MAN, 1949, 154

**I2** SIR,—In reviewing my small survey of Hinduism, Mr. Srinavas says: 'It is surprising that Dr. Bouquet should have thought that the knowledge of the identity of the individual Atman with the universal Brahman . . . is of the same kind as that involved in normal intellectual activity.' But Mr. Srinavas has overlooked a sentence on p. 55 in which I expressly state: 'The knowledge which so liberates (i.e. *vidya* in the Upanishadic sense) is not the sort of knowledge that the Western world of today derives from empirical science, and values so highly. . . . Salvation through *vidya* is much more of the same type as that known in the Hellenistic world as *γνῶσις*.' Had he read this sentence, he could hardly have written as he has.

I ventured to call the Dadupanthis a 'more or less male com-

munity,' because I do not know whether they admit women as members. But Sir Charles Eliot's account is plain enough, i.e. that they insist on strict celibacy, and recruit their members by the adoption of boys, most of whom are trained as soldiers.

Bartholomew's map of India (pub. 1909) does not show any boundary between Cochin and Travancore, though this may well be an error. I must, however, accept Mr. Srinavas' correction that Kāñāḍi, Sankara's birth-place, is in Cochin State.

As for *śradha*, I quite agree that p. 123 contains a *lapsus calami*, and that the *śradha* which followed the interment of Ram Mohan Roy should be correctly denominated 'rites of the dead.' But Mr. Srinavas will see, if he looks again, that on p. 29 I am entirely in line with him in describing *śradha* as the offering of food and drink to the departed—ancestor-worship, in fact.

Finally I cannot understand how Mr. Srinavas can have written as he has done in his first and third paragraphs, after reading pp. 152 and 153 of my book, where I am careful to emphasize that my intention is neither to favour Hinduism nor to advocate Christianity, but to show, for the information of students, their respective points of view.

A. C. BOUQUET

Cambridge









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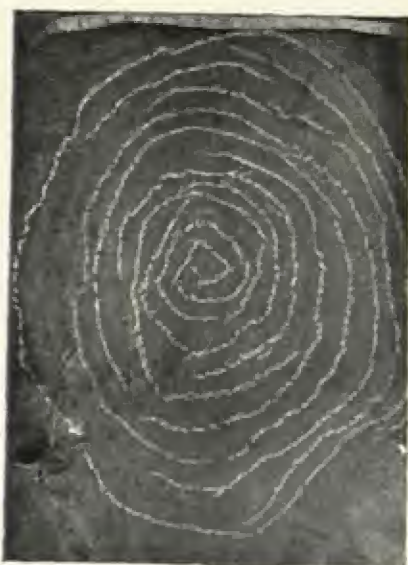
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# ROCK CARVINGS AT PORT HEDLAND, N.W. AUSTRALIA

ALL CARVINGS HAVE BEEN CHALKED

1. Six-toed foot. 2. Enu tracks. 3. Shield? 4. Bêche-de-mer (boomerang?) 5. Male anthropomorphic figure, lacking nose and ears.
6. Concentric circle design. 7. Spears. 8. Turtle, ventral aspect; note faint carved lines (unchalked) across the body.



# AN INTERPRETATION OF SOME ABORIGINAL ROCK CARVINGS AND PAINTINGS IN NORTH-WESTERN AUSTRALIA\*

by

F. G. G. ROSE

**13** Campbell (1911) and Basedow (1925) have described the rock carvings at Port Hedland in North-western Australia, and Davidson (1936) has brought the information under one head in his monograph *Aboriginal Australian and Tasmanian Rock Carvings and Paintings*. The two earlier writers collected considerably more information from the aborigines with them at the time than I was able to obtain from my informants when I visited the locality in May, 1942. They did not, however, mention one characteristic subject of these carvings, *viz.* the considerable number of human feet represented with six digits (see Plate B1).

The carvings are on a fairly coarse limestone ridge about a mile east of the township of Port Hedland on the road to the causeway and '7-mile' aerodrome. The ridge is opposite the old native hospital a few score yards south of the road. The carvings extend over a distance of several hundred yards along the ridge, and are in a reasonably good state of preservation despite their apparent antiquity. There are reputedly numerous other rock carvings on Finucane Island, a short distance offshore opposite Port Hedland, which, however, I did not visit. Carvings and intagliations have been described by Wickham (1842) and Stokes (1846) as occurring on Depuch Island between Roebourne and Port Hedland.

It would seem likely from the situation of the ridge and the size, shape and considerable number of the representations, that actual feet with six toes were first outlined and subsequently carved out from the rock, and that the extra digit was not a mistake as is sometimes found in conventionalized drawings of the hand or foot.

The significance of these carvings lies in the fact that we know that six fingers or toes are the manifestation of a recessive gene which would appear most frequently in an inbred community. By consideration of the structures of Australian aboriginal societies Jolly and the present writer (1943) have shown it to be a rational hypothesis that primitive society in the earliest nomadic state evolved by the progressive avoidance of incest. The results of 'incest,' or breach of the laws of exogamy, would be the appearance of recessive genes such as six digits on hand or foot, hermaphroditism, deaf-mutism, etc. It can be presumed that the motive behind the representations of the six-toed feet on the ridge at Port Hedland would be something of the nature of suggestive magic. If this hypothesis is accepted a similar interpretation might be ascribed to the remarkable and characteristic anthropomorphic paintings, known as *Wondjina*, in the North-west Kimberleys (Elkin, 1931). Every one of these paintings lacks the two features, ears and mouth, which could well symbolize deaf-mutism, another recessive gene. It is interesting to remark, however,

\* With Plate B

that some of the anthropomorphic carved figures at Port Hedland have mouths (Plate B5). I have myself observed deaf-mutism and six-toed feet in Northern Australia, while W. Harney has reported verbally that he had noted hermaphroditism amongst Northern Territory aborigines.

Elkin noted that when it was suggested to the natives accompanying him that the *Wondjina* figures should have mouths they said that 'It could not be done,' in a manner which showed that the representation of mouths was quite out of the question: moreover Elkin noted that these figures are connected with fertility. On the hypothesis advanced, the original motive behind the drawing of these figures was suggestive magic, presumably to rid the community of the scourge of deaf-mutism. The fact that mouths (and presumably ears) could not be indicated and the association of the idea of fertility would both accord with the hypothesis.

There is one further noteworthy point in connexion with the *Wondjina* drawings. This is that the area in which the drawings are found is almost identical with that in which patrilineal moiety societies occur. Jolly and the writer (1943) have postulated that originally these particular societies (Worora, Unambal, Ngarinyin, etc.) were matrilineal and that it was in order to avoid the incest implicit in the mother-in-law taboo (Jolly and Rose, 1942), which presumably was not applied too effectively, that the change-over from matriliney to patriliney<sup>1</sup> occurred. Avoidance of this implied incest was facilitated in other matrilineal moiety societies by the fusion of moiety societies to give progressively section and sub-section societies. But owing to the geographical location of the Worora, etc., this fusion was impossible and the spectre of this incest had to be laid by a change-over from matriliney to patriliney. The myth of the praying mantis as given by Love (1935) is adduced by Jolly and Rose (1943) as symbolizing this change-over.

As far as I am aware only one photograph of the rock carvings at Port Hedland has been published (Basedow, 1925). It is in order to put these carvings on record in a more satisfactory manner than by sketches that the photographs are reproduced. It will be noted that some carvings (Plate B4) are described as *bêche-de-mer*, although Campbell (1911) and Basedow (1925) have called them boomerangs. It is submitted that the shape is not typically that of a boomerang, being too thick, and the striations seem to indicate a *bêche-de-mer*.

## Note

<sup>1</sup> Consider a simple matrilineal society with moieties A and B. Any man of moiety A can theoretically marry all women in moiety B. His own daughter is of moiety B and hence he could also marry her. If a taboo is introduced on women called 'mother-in-law,' the daughter of these women, whom a man would *ipso facto* call wife,



would never be his own daughter and hence he could not commit father-daughter incest providing the taboo was effective and despite the fact that the mother-in-law was in a man's own moiety.

In a patrilineal society, on the other hand, a man's daughter is in his own moiety and hence is never available as wife and in this society providing the exogamy of the moieties is enforced a man could never marry his own daughter. The same applies to typical Australian section or subsection societies, where a man can never marry his daughter, as she is in the wrong section or subsection for marriage.

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## THE RELATIVE USEFULNESS OF VARIOUS CHARACTERS ON THE LIVING FOR RACIAL COMPARISON

by

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**I**<sub>4</sub> At the conference on anthropometric technique held at the second *Congrès international des Sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques* (Copenhagen, 1938) we agreed upon the need for a standard list of characters for general use in the measurement of racial series, living and cranial. Its adoption would increase very greatly the amount of comparative material available to those anthropologists who chose to measure these characters. They would, of course, supplement them by any others appropriate to the special requirements of their material.

Clearly, such a standard list should include those characters that are in general most useful in helping the student of race to discriminate between different populations, namely those that vary most as between races compared with their variation within racial units. The present paper, therefore, reports on the results of research into the relationship between the inter-racial and mean intra-racial variability of characters on the living.<sup>1</sup> The results of a parallel investigation by Dr. A. J. van Bork-Feltkamp on cranial characters are given by her in the paper which follows. Both papers were presented to the third *Congrès* which met at Brussels in 1948.

As a basis on which to calculate the relative usefulness of characters from the above point of view, we have sought answers to the following question: supposing the variability of a character were the same in all races, with a standard deviation equal to its estimated mean intra-racial value  $\bar{\sigma}_r$ ; and supposing samples of 100 were taken from pairs of different races at random: how big a proportion, in the long run, of differences between sample means would fail to indicate a difference between the populations from which they were drawn?

The term 'race,' which in general usage and also in anthropological writings is given a variety of inexact meanings, is used in no exact sense here either. For the purpose of these studies we have used any means and standard deviations for series of 30 men (or adult male skulls) that we could find in anthropological literature, the

values there recorded having been obtained, with few exceptions, for the purpose of racial comparison. In a general way, therefore, these series may be regarded as samples drawn from the various races of mankind. It is true they cannot be regarded as entirely random samples. Some sections of humanity have been measured more than others, and the distribution of means is thereby biased. But some steps have been taken to modify this bias; the whole body of data assembled for each character has not been used just as it stands. Where several means have been derived from a relatively small population, as, for example, those for recruits from the various provinces of Norway, most of them have been removed from the distribution. Pruning might no doubt have been carried further than it was; but there would be a danger, if it were carried too far, of getting a distribution too much shaped by the personal ideas of the research worker. Where the distribution that remained after discreet pruning was obviously seriously overweighted in certain directions, and could not be regarded as a possible sample from a normal or even an approximately normal distribution, it was discarded, and its standard deviation ( $\sigma_n$ ) was not used.<sup>2</sup> Thus the characters for which estimates of inter-racial variability would be least reliable have been omitted from the Table given below.

Those that remain have been divided into two groups: those based on 147 or more means, and those based on 120 to 56. Obviously the figures for the former give greater confidence. But with these too, in considering the proportions given in the final column, one must allow for the possibility that fresh additions of racial means, making the distribution more representative of world populations, would raise or lower the second place of decimals by a unit or two. It is unlikely, I think, that even in the case of the second and less broadly based part of the Table, further means would radically alter the values given.

One factor must be mentioned, however, that may have exaggerated the estimates of inter-racial variability of



some characters, namely, differences between the observers' techniques of measurement, whether differences of observational bias in applying the same definition of a character, or unrealized differences between the definitions applied. The works from which the lists of means were compiled were searched for statements regarding the techniques used, and only those were listed together which appeared to have been obtained by the same technique (except in the case of two characters that will be dealt with below). But not all writers specify exactly their method of measurement: where this seemed too uncertain, the means they

gation into the techniques of measurement of ear-length and breadth (Tildesley, 1949) gave plentiful examples of both, with the result that ear-breadth has now been withdrawn from the table. It had been placed next in order after mouth-width, before it was realized that the estimate of its inter-racial variability must have been substantially exaggerated by differences in the method of measurement, and that out of 109 means the number that could be ascribed to any one technique was far too small to provide an estimate. Ear-breadth is probably an extreme case, both because the smallness of a character makes estimates

TABLE I.—CHARACTERS ON THE LIVING IN THE ESTIMATED ORDER OF THEIR GENERAL USEFULNESS FOR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, BASED ON ESTIMATES OF THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PAIRS OF SAMPLES OF 100, FROM DIFFERENT 'RACES,' WOULD SHOW NON-SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEIR MEAN VALUES

Characters for which more than 146 means were available	Estimates from means of racial series				Estimates from S.D.'s of racial series		$\frac{\sigma_{ir}}{\sigma_{ie}}$	Estimated proportion of non-significant differences between means of racial samples ( $n_1=n_2=100$ )
	No. of series	Inter-racial mean	Inter-racial S.D. $\sigma_{ir}$	Inter-racial C. of V.	No. of series	Mean intra-racial S.D. $\sigma_{ie}$		
Nose-breadth . . . . .	370	37.1	3.711	10	217	2.874	0.774	0.123
Head-breadth . . . . .	441	150.4	5.468	3.63	314	5.209	0.953	0.151
Sitting height . . . . .	266	864.3	31.93	3.66	129	33.44	1.047	0.166
Nose-height (to nasion) . . . . .	255	53.4	3.367	6.31	177	3.818	1.134	0.179
Bizygomatic breadth . . . . .	402	139.2	4.548	3.27	245	5.233	1.150	0.182
Stature . . . . .	573	1652	49.75+	3.01	296	58.87	1.183	0.187
Span . . . . .	147	1740	59.85-	3.44	102	71.81	1.200	0.190
Head-length . . . . .	478	187.9	4.895+	2.61	326	6.323	1.292	0.204
Minimum frontal breadth . . . . .	183	106.8	3.677	3.44	116	4.765+	1.296	0.205
Morph. face-height (to nasion) . . . . .	249	120.5+	4.911	4.08	208	6.416	1.306	0.215
Bigonial breadth . . . . .	159	106.8	3.673	3.44	134	5.639	1.535+	0.241
Characters giving less than 121 means								
Hand-breadth (direct) . . . . .	65	87.4	6.188	7.08	41	4.467	0.722	0.115
Head-length (interstyl. to dactyl.) . . . . .	71	187.4	9.753	5.20	42	9.376	0.961	0.152
Shoulder-breadth (bi-acromial) . . . . .	94	370.2	19.022	5.14	80	18.865	0.992	0.157
Mouth-width . . . . .	82	54.3	3.605-	6.64	34	3.728	1.034	0.164
Arm-length (projective) . . . . .	63	742.5-	25.12	3.38	33	32.90	1.310	0.207
Chest-girth (at rest) . . . . .	76	887.9	38.02	4.28	39	49.89	1.311	0.207
Head-girth . . . . .	97	554.1	10.643	1.92	56	14.446	1.357	0.214
Pelvic breadth (ilio-cristal) . . . . .	71	280.3	11.632	4.15-	55	16.325+	1.403	0.221
Ear-length . . . . .	120	62.3	3.094	4.96	65	4.428	1.431	0.225
Upper face-height (to nasion) . . . . .	56	71.9	3.275+	4.55+	51	4.949	1.511	0.238
Auricular height . . . . .	115	125.9	3.912	3.11	105	6.058	1.548	0.243
Breadth between inner eye corners . . . . .	104	33.1	1.615+	4.38	44	2.665-	1.650	0.259
Physiognomic face-height . . . . .	101	184.3	5.316	2.88	46	8.936	1.681	0.263

gave were not used, though in some cases a knowledge of the school to which they belonged was taken as indicating the method. Where definitions were given, or those in textbooks referred to, the means were added to those that appeared to have been obtained in the same way; but it is no news to those who have tried to frame or follow definitions of the characters of so variable an object as the human body, that it is often extremely difficult to make water-tight definitions, and that there are those in the literature that leak abominably. Also downright mistakes and misunderstandings are not unknown. A recent investi-

of its inter-racial variability more subject to exaggeration through discrepant techniques, and because faults of definition are surely uncommonly large in regard to ear-breadth. But until the techniques used in measuring the other characters have all been similarly investigated and subjected to tests, one cannot guarantee that the estimates of inter-racial variability obtained for them are all free from this kind of exaggeration.

The two characters referred to above, as being exceptions to the practice of combining together only values that appeared to have been obtained by the same technique,



are span and auricular height. For span, two sets of differently defined measurements were combined after adjustment. I took as guide a statement by Steggerda (1932, p. 312) that in Yucatan he measured span from behind on some of the same individuals, and on many more of the same genetic stock, as G. D. Williams had previously measured from in front, and got values that were 3 centimetres less (1.3 per cent.) than Williams' on an average (though mean stature was the same). I therefore increased my means of span measured from behind by 1.3 per cent. and then pooled them with the means of span from in front. The errors involved would be small in relation to the size of the character and its true inter-racial variability. In the case of auricular height, I pooled together all those measurements that were taken from the level of the tragon, that is, either from the tragon itself or from the upper border of the auditory meatus. Certainly there is no constant relationship between any two points on the body; but between these two, so close together and nominally at the same level, any difference would be slight.

For estimates of the mean intra-racial variability ( $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$ ) of a character, no pruning of the data was thought necessary. The populations represented by the standard deviations found in the literature have not been selected for their homogeneity to a greater or less extent than would be likely with other populations yet to be measured and analysed statistically. Thirty S.D.'s was the minimum decided upon for an estimate of  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$ : actually the numbers used for the estimates ranged from 33 to 326.

It is true, of course, that many of the  $\sigma$ 's recorded in the literature have defects. But by neglecting all that were based on less than 30 individuals, those that are of least value as estimates of the variability of the populations they represent were excluded. Of the others, many lose in accuracy through being calculated on too few categories.<sup>3</sup> If Sheppard's correction is applied, the estimate obtained is no longer biased in favour of excess, and the errors in excess or defect of a number of such S.D.'s tend to cancel out when they are brought together for averaging. But unfortunately those workers who are unaware of the necessity of grouping not too broadly are most likely to be among those who do not use Sheppard's correction.<sup>4</sup> Hence the net effect of this type of error is to increase somewhat the estimates of  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$ .

Again, the greater the observational variability of the individual observer, the greater the variability of the data he obtains. This is further increased if the observers are more than one in number and differ in observational bias. Observational variability and differences of bias will always exist, and should be measured as a matter of routine, both to restrict them and to allow for them. But this has been done too little in the past, and the estimates of  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$  will be exaggerated somewhat by this factor also: more, of course, for some characters than for others. How much, depends on how large the  $\sigma$  of observational variability is and how small the variability of the character itself. In the case of nose-height, for instance, its small size would tend to give it a low absolute variability, while observational variability, due to difficulty in determining its upper

terminal, would presumably be relatively high; hence we may presume some exaggeration in the estimate obtained for the  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$  of nose-height. Since this same difficulty also opens the way for differences of observational bias, which would increase the estimate of  $\sigma_{ie}$ , the estimated value of  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}/\sigma_{ie}$  may *perhaps* be little affected.

Finally in regard to the various sources of error that have been discussed: it will have been noted that, with one exception, they tend to exaggerate  $\sigma_{ir}$  or  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$ , and since our final calculations are based on the relationship between these two, it is at any rate a good thing that they operate in the same direction. The exception, which may operate in either direction, is any error in the estimate of  $\sigma_{ie}$  which is due to its being based on an insufficiently representative selection of 'races.' The greater the number of these, the less likely is it that the error will be great, and for no character in the first part of the Table I does it seem probable that an improvement in the sample would make more than slight alterations in the final figures.

How they were arrived at must now be explained. Let the human race be supposed to consist of a number of 'races,' not further defined than by saying that they are on the whole such as have been sampled anthropometrically and have provided the means found in the literature.

Take a given character, say head-length: let mean head-length for all the different 'races' vary around its own mean value (which we will call the human mean), with a standard deviation of  $\Sigma_{ir}$ . Within each 'race,' let us suppose the standard deviation of head-length about the racial mean to be equal to  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$ , which is the estimated intra-racial average.

If a sample of 100 be drawn from each 'race,' the variance of the sample means about the racial means will be  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}^2/100$ . The variance of the racial means about the human mean is  $\Sigma_{ir}^2$ . The variance of the sample means about the human mean is therefore equal to the sum of these two variances, that is,  $\sigma_{ie}^2 = \Sigma_{ir}^2 + (\bar{\sigma}_{ir}^2/100)$ .<sup>5</sup>

The standard deviation of differences between pairs of the above sample means taken at random is  $\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie}$ . What we seek to estimate for the character is how big a proportion of these differences would be non-significant, taking as our criterion of significance that a difference shall exceed twice its estimated standard error (s.e.); exceed, that is, the limits within which about 95 per cent. of differences between the sample means would lie if the corresponding racial means were equal. In the latter case, the s.e. of a difference would be  $\pm(\sqrt{2}\bar{\sigma}_{ir}/10)$ . Let  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}/\sigma_{ie} = a$ . Then the s.e. of a difference becomes  $\pm \frac{a}{10}(\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie})$  and the limits of significance are  $\pm \frac{a}{5}(\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie})$ .

The standard deviation of differences between the means of pairs of samples from any of the various 'races' being  $\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie}$ , the question now assumes this form: what proportion of a normal distribution with a standard deviation of  $\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie}$  lies between the limits  $\pm \frac{a}{5}(\sqrt{2}\sigma_{ie})$ ? Having divided, for any character, the value of  $\bar{\sigma}_{ir}$  by that of  $\sigma_{ie}$  to



get the value of  $a$ , one finds the answer from Table II of the Probability Integral, in Pearson, 1930.

Finally, some comment on the results shown in Table I. First, that in each case where it includes a pair of characters measuring the length and breadth of the same part of the body, breadth serves to differentiate racial groups more often than length. Thus, as regards the nose, it is estimated that only 12 per cent. of comparisons between two samples of 100 from different 'races' would fail to reveal a significant difference in mean nose-breadth, while as many as 18 per cent. would not differ significantly in nose-height. The corresponding estimate for head-breadth is 15 per cent. as against 20 per cent. for head-length; in the case of the upper face, it is 18 per cent. for breadth (bizygomatic) and 24 per cent. for height; for hand-breadth it is 11 per cent., for hand-length 15 per cent. Indeed, if our 65 and 71 means of hand-breadth and length provide us with a good enough sample of the different races, the hand would seem to be as good as the nose, or even better, for marking off one race from another.

Again, minimum frontal breadth differs less from race to race (relative to its intra-racial variability) than does maximum head-breadth, the figures being 20 per cent. and 15 per cent. respectively; and stature (19 per cent.) rather less than sitting height (17 per cent.), it seems.

Those who have struggled with the measurement of auricular height may thankfully decide, on the figures in this Table, to omit this character from their list of measurements—though it is true that, even as measured thus far, it serves to discriminate between racial samples of 100 in three comparisons out of four. How far a lessening of observational variability would reduce the estimate for mean intra-racial variability and increase the usefulness of the character is a matter in which investigation is better than speculation. That is one of the many tasks that still await accomplishment.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of this investigation was carried out in the course of my tenure of a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, for which I express my indebtedness.

<sup>2</sup>  $\sigma_{ie}$ , the standard deviation, for any character, of the sample means recorded in the literature, is derived in this paper from samples that vary greatly in size, rather more than half containing less than 100 individuals, and the rest anything from 100 to many thousands. If each had contained exactly 100,  $\sigma_{ie}$  might not have been exactly the same, but would have been approximately so. The values obtained for  $\sigma_{ie}$ , for the various characters used, will be regarded therefore each as an estimate of the standard deviation of an infinite number of means of samples of 100 drawn at random from different populations.

<sup>3</sup> Maximum size of category for 70 characters on the living is dealt with in Tildesley, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> Though this correction should not be used in calculating standard errors of parameter estimates, in this case what we are dealing with is the estimate of variability, not the standard error of that estimate.

<sup>5</sup> In deciding to regard the  $\sigma_{ie}$  obtained from samples of very various sizes as an estimate of the  $\sigma_{ie}$  that would be obtained from equal samples, each 100 strong, 100 was chosen rather arbitrarily (though not entirely without reference to subsequent ease of calculation). From the above equation, the latter  $\sigma_{ie}$  is seen to be a little greater than  $\Sigma_{ie}$ , but not much: 0.3 per cent. in the case of nose-breadth which heads our list, 1.17 per cent. in the case of bigonial breadth which foots the first part. Had the correct equivalent been 80, say, not 100, it would have made little difference; likewise had it been greater than 100.

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## THE RELATIVE USEFULNESS OF VARIOUS CRANIAL CHARACTERS FOR RACIAL COMPARISON

by

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**15** In the preceding paper Miss Tildesley has explained the lines followed in our parallel investigations, hers into characters measured on the living, mine into cranial characters. The table giving the cranial results needs, therefore, little further explanation. The more reliable estimates, based on larger numbers of racial means (154 to 235), are given in the first part, those based on fewer means (57 to 128) in the second. For some characters I found two or more sets of data obtained from samples which were pooled by the author of a subsequent paper, for the purpose of comparing the combined sample with others by means of the coefficient of racial likeness. In such a case I used the mean and standard deviation of the combined sample

alone. In the case of orbital width and height, I have taken the mean of the values for right and left sides where both were given, and pooled the resultant values with those others given in the literature for one side only (usually the left, but sometimes unspecified), any difference in the inter- or intra-racial variability of right and left orbit being presumably negligible.

Cranial characters have this advantage over characters measured on the living, that questions of observational variability and bias figure less prominently for them than for those that have their terminals on soft tissues and may also be affected by posture. A further difference between the data of these two papers is that the living measurements



all refer to recent populations, while the cranial data derive from very different periods, some quite remote. Thus, though neither of us can claim to be dealing with a completely random sample of human forms, the samples of racial means with which we respectively deal are very different in origin.

Comparing our results for those four characters which most closely correspond on the living and on the skull, as given in the final column of our tables, we see they give the following estimates of the proportion of non-significant differences to be expected between the means of samples

among the most useful of the characters for racial comparison.

Again, for both head and skull maximum breadth is found to discriminate between races more often than maximum length, and bizygomatic breadth more often than upper face-height. The same is observed in the case of orbital diameters, measured on the skull: for breadth, only 17 per cent. are non-significant, for height, 26.6 per cent. As regards nasal measurement, however, the breadth of the pyriform aperture and nasal height on the skull provide approximately equal estimates (22.9 per cent. and

TABLE I.—CRANIAL CHARACTERS IN THE ESTIMATED ORDER OF THEIR GENERAL USEFULNESS FOR RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, BASED ON ESTIMATES OF THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PAIRS OF SAMPLES OF 100, FROM DIFFERENT 'RACES,' WOULD SHOW NON-SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEIR MEAN VALUES <sup>2</sup>

Characters for which more than 153 means were available	Estimates from means of racial series				Estimates from S.D.'s of racial series		$\frac{\sigma_{ir}}{\sigma_{ie}}$	Estimated proportion of non-significant differences between means of racial samples ( $n_1=n_2=100$ )
	No. of series	Inter-racial mean	Inter-racial S.D. $\sigma_{ie}$	Inter-racial C. of V.	No. of series	Mean intra-racial S.D. $\sigma_{ir}$		
Maximum breadth . . . . . B	235	140.1	5.54	3.96	97	5.07	0.915	0.145
Bizygomatic breadth . . . . . J	188	133.5	4.73	3.54	60	5.19	1.097	0.174
Maximum length . . . . . L	230	182.5	4.80	2.63	93	6.08	1.267	0.200
Upper face-height . . . . . G'H	177	70.4	3.14	4.47	65	4.30	1.369	0.215
Basion to bregma . . . . . H'	206	134.4	3.52	2.62	78	4.94	1.403	0.224
Nasal breadth . . . . . NB	193	25.3	1.21	4.78	64	1.76	1.460	0.229
Minimum frontal breadth . . . . . B'	154	95.9	2.77	2.89	47	4.51	1.628	0.255
Basion to nasion . . . . . LB	165	100.6	2.51	2.49	34	4.16	1.657	0.260
Orbital height . . . . . O <sub>2</sub>	160	34.4	1.18	3.43	52	2	1.694	0.266
Characters giving less than 129 means								
Orbital breadth . . . . . O <sub>1</sub>	90	41	1.60	3.90	35	1.72	1.075	0.170
Simotic subtense . . . . . SS	57	3.63	0.86	23.62	30	1.04	1.209	0.192
Basion to alveolar point . . . . . GL	128	97.8	3.81	3.89	45	4.87	1.278	0.201
Horizontal circumference . . . . . U	124	516	10.88	2.11	44	13.97	1.284	0.203
Nasal height . . . . . NH'	116	50.8	2.21	4.35	32	3.15	1.425	0.225
Face-breadth (maxillary) . . . . . GB	124	95.6	3.15	3.29	49	4.79	1.521	0.237
Arc, nasion to opisthion . . . . . S	120	370.5	7.36	1.99	42	12.63	1.716	0.269
Inter-orbital width . . . . . IOW	59	97.7	2.18	2.23	33	3.87	1.776	0.277
Arc, bregma to lambda . . . . . S <sub>2</sub>	124	126.4	3.97	3.14	33	7.19	1.811	0.283
Arc, lambda to opisthion . . . . . S <sub>3</sub>	119	115.9	3.90	3.36	30	7.08	1.815	0.283
Simotic chord . . . . . SC	64	9	0.99	11.05	30	1.97	1.990	0.308
Arc, nasion to bregma . . . . . S <sub>1</sub>	115	127.7	2.29	1.79	34	6.12	2.672	0.408
Foramen magnum breadth . . . . . fmb	106	30.1	0.76	2.52	34	2.15	2.829	0.430
Foramen magnum length . . . . . fml	114	36.8	0.93	2.53	39	2.65	2.849	0.431

of 100: for bizygomatic breadth, head 18.2 per cent., skull 17.2 per cent.; for upper face-height, head 23.8 per cent., skull 21.5 per cent.; for maximum length, head 20.4 per cent., skull 20.0 per cent.; for minimum frontal breadth, head 20.5 per cent., skull 25.5 per cent. Though the estimates do not agree exactly—that would be too much to expect—they are fairly close except for minimum frontal breadth. The difference here lies in the greater inter-racial variability estimated for the living.<sup>1</sup> But both tables give minimum frontal breadth a considerably higher proportion of non-significant results than they give to maximum breadth of head or skull. The latter is

22.5 per cent.), unlike the living nose, whose breadth fails less often than any other character in the table to distinguish between different racial groups.

Finally, it may be pointed out that, of the three sides of the fundamental triangle, the nasion-basion diameter varies relatively less from race to race than upper face-height, and the latter less than GL, which measures the forward thrust of the alveolar point from the basion and largely determines the degree of prognathism.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Rodenwaldt, in his *Die Mestizen auf Kizar* (1928), points out that Eugen Fischer's method of measuring minimum frontal



breadth on the living differs from Rudolf Martin's, in that it is taken outside and behind the *linie temporalis* instead of on them; and it may be that for this character observational differences, unconscious and otherwise, have helped to exaggerate the estimate of inter-racial variability for the living.—M. L. Tildesley.

<sup>2</sup> All absolute values are given in mm. The symbols for the

various characters are those used in *Biometrika*; the following (in parentheses) are the numbers of the corresponding characters defined in R. Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*: B (8), O<sub>1</sub> (51), J (45), GL (40), U (23a), G'H (48), H' (17), NH' (55), L (1), NB (54), GB (46), B' (9), LB (5), O<sub>2</sub> (52), S (25), IOW (43, 1), S<sub>2</sub> (27), S<sub>3</sub> (28), SC (57), S<sub>1</sub> (26), fmb (16), finl (17).

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

**The Coming of Iron to the Bantu.** By G. A. Wainwright.

Summary of a communication to the Institute, 11 October, 1949

**16** Iron was brought to Meroë in the early sixth century B.C. by the Asianic mercenaries of Psametik II; thus it came from the north southwards. An immense iron industry grew up at Meroë and flourished until it was destroyed by Ezana about A.D. 350.

Bushongo traditional history goes back to about A.D. 500 or rather earlier; that is to say to shortly after the destruction of Meroë. Their tradition says that a 'white' man, Bumba, taught their first king about iron; this king, Woto, was a 'mulatto.' This happened in their old home, which there is good evidence to place on the Shari River south of Lake Chad. The epithet 'white' was still applied, in the southern Anglo-Egyptian Sudan for instance, to the Khartumers and Egyptian troops in the nineteenth century. The Bushongo still use the bowl bellows of ancient Egypt. Hence date, colour of the introducers, and form of the bellows all point to Meroë as the source whence the iron industry reached the Bushongo on the Shari River. The map of the diffusion of the Bushongo word for iron, *-bolo*, shows clearly how it has spread from the upper Shari down the lower Mubangi and so into northern Congoland and the Kasai, where the Bushongo now live.

We have no traditions from the *-ondo*, *-londa* family of names for iron, but the map shows very clearly how it too came down the lower Mubangi and also the parallel Sanga River. It spread thence eastwards between the Congo and the Wele as far as the sources of the latter river and into Congoland south of the Kasai. Similarly another family, the *-era*, has some members still on the Sanga River, though the main body is now quite cut off far away to the south-east between the Congo and Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. A fourth family, the *-oma*, today centres in Unyoro and Uganda, having probably arrived from the north-west along the Congo-Nile Divide. It passed on along the Ugal, Myombe, Ruaha, and Rufiji Rivers to the coast, where Swahili carried it south as far as Quilimane and north as far as the Webi Shebela. The last family examined is the *-tare*. Its history is quite different, coming as it did from Kaffa in southern Abyssinia, and at a date much later than any of the others.

The earliest deducible dates are these: the Bushongo (*-bolo*) on the Shari A.D. 500; the *-oma* family in Unyoro and Uganda before the seventh century A.D.; the *-era* family in the Tanganyika-Congo corridor not later than A.D. 1350 and before the fifteenth century on Mount Kilimanjaro; the *-ondo*, *-londa* family had reached the Ba-Rolong by the thirteenth century A.D., and the mouth of the Congo about A.D. 1400; the *-tare* family was brought by the Jaga to Angola about A.D. 1500. Archaeologically we know that iron was being smelted at Zimbabwe in the ninth or even eighth century A.D.

In Fernando Po the Bube call iron by a variety of names, which Sir Harry Johnston considers belong to families on the mainland. Certainly their *lunda*, *kuanye* and *mo-kusu* clearly do. Fernando Po has, therefore, been populated by many peoples coming from various tribes who knew of iron on the mainland.

**Human Studies in Central Borneo, 1945-8.** By Tom Harrison, Curator, Sarawak Museum. Summary of a

**17** communication to the Institute, 10 May, 1949

The lecturer has conducted some two and a half years study during 1945-8 among the hill peoples of central Borneo, especially the Kelabit community, most susceptible to extensive research because of the structure of the Kelabit long-house. This differs from the type familiar among the other pagan peoples of Borneo, in that the family section is not divided up into separate compartments. There is full mobility throughout the long-house, and it is quite easy to keep continuous observation on families in all stages of their activities. This study, which was made possible by the Sarawak Government, had naturally been centred on social anthropology; but as it developed, the necessity for paying detailed and equal attention to material culture, folklore, archaeology and other aspects became evident.

At first, it seemed practicable to study the culture as it actually existed in this particularly primitive upland environment. The more closely and intimately the situation was probed and understood, the less clear the distinctions and definitions, both in time and in place, proved to be. The long-house, with its apparent solidarity and its associations with some specific locality (generally a river), proved, over a period of four years, to be extremely elastic, even fragile, as social structure, and subject to frequent change, sometimes to fragmentation. Within any one Kelabit long-house ties of kinship and common ancestry are only one of a number of operative factors, and there is no 'axial line of the house' in the sense suggested for the lowland Ibans by Dr. E. R. Leach (MAN, 1948, 103).

In some ways the family is also a fragile unit in Kelabit life, subject to particularly severe stresses around inheritance rules and the necessity for performing expensive memorial feasts for persons from whom property has been inherited. Conflict between the two eldest of a set of siblings may be particularly marked in such circumstances.

This is not to say that community and kin-associations are unimportant. At any one moment the Kelabit long-house is a short-term, effective, co-operating unit. To a large extent external circumstances demand that it should be so, especially where a long-house is in an area of shifting (*ladang*) cultivation. Kinship has its usual importance. But there are very wide divergences between theoretical and actual kin, pattern and practice. It proved possible to keep detailed observations on the vocabulary and practice of kinship in one long-house over a period of months. Variations, distortions, suppressions and 'inventions' were as marked as 'normal' (theoretically sanctioned) relationship behaviour. The lecturer intended to pursue these observations during 1949-50 in the same village.

Perhaps cohesion of these people is best represented by the term 'Kelabit' now generally applied to them. There is a decided sense of 'being Kelabit,' and this is the only operative under loyalty at the present time. Even so, it is of fairly recent growth. The term itself, like most Borneo group terms, was imposed from outside in the first place. It arose in part from a misunderstanding.



The fluidity and changeability of group terms is a marked feature of the interior. It is probable that the term 'Kelamantan' once had a similar operational value; it occurs in some of the very early folklore material. Today it is, in practice, ineffective, and was disregarded in the 1947 census. On the other hand, the term 'Kajang' (which Dr. Leach has proposed) did not appear among the hundreds of extant group names recorded both by the enumerators and the enumerated in the 1947 census. Here again the upland elasticity and mobility of relationship and loyalty seem to differ from the more formal associations in most countries, including sub-coastal Borneo.

Attention has been paid to other social aspects of Kelabit life, especially the development of children, and the processes leading up to and following upon marriage. Rice economy has necessarily been studied in detail. The Kelabits provide useful experimental material, because they practise both irrigated wet padi and shifting dry cultivation. Families may use both systems simultaneously. Statistical observations on yields per acre and per 'man day' have been conducted, and it is hoped to repeat them for a second harvest in 1950. Preliminary analysis suggests that—although the Kelabits do not use their numerous water buffalo or any other form of plough—the wet padi system is (in their case) more productive of rice by both these yardsticks of measurement.

On the material side, large collections have been made and brought to the Sarawak Museum for further study. These include a wide range of implements, textiles, carvings and especially ceramic material. The older types of jar are the main

Kelabit objects of value and ambition. Comparative study with other areas and museums may help to map the remarkable inland movements of such material, some perhaps of T'ang date. Beads play a very important part in Kelabit life. A representative collection has been made, and is being compared with other material. A system of specific-gravity, spectroscopic and other tests is being worked out to enable precise parallels to be drawn. Preliminarily, the inference seems to be that whereas Kelabit ceramics came almost entirely from the eastern edge of Asia, Kelabit beads are probably (either directly or indirectly) from the western edge of Asia and the eastern edge of Europe, often long ago.

The first extensive collection of stone implements from Borneo has also been obtained. It shows several points of interest, including numerous sago-pounding items closely similar to some from New Guinea, but seldom recorded elsewhere. The Kelabit form of stone adze also differs markedly from types previously recorded in South-East Asia; the familiar 'quadrangular' of Malaya, as well as the 'round axe,' appear to be absent.

Material studies, folklore and social anthropology come down to one focus most clearly in the study of the Kelabit megaliths. The people still actively make dolmens, monoliths and stone carvings. The Kelabit plateau has hundreds of major megalithic sites, often connected with legends, usually recorded in song form—some songs last for days. Excavation of several of the probably older sites has been carried out; further work is intended in the near future. And around these megaliths centre the complex of death feast, ancestry and inheritance, which activates so much of everyday Kelabit activity and incentive, stability and change.

## REVIEWS

### MISCELLANEOUS

**Man, Mind and Music.** By Frank Howes. London (Secker & Warburg), 1948. Pp. 184. Price 12s. 6d.

**18** Although only the first 53 pages of this volume fall within the domain of anthropology, in them, as those who are familiar with his papers read before the Institute would expect, Mr. Howes has some very pertinent things to say about the origins of the musical art and its place and function in primitive society. Starting from a wide conception of anthropology as 'the study of man in evolution' the author does not hesitate to draw his material from higher as well as from the more rudimentary states of culture, though he recognizes that it is in the simplest forms of human life that insight can best be obtained into the fundamental nature of music 'without interference of higher civilizations.' As an expression of the human spirit and motor impulse, having little to do with the mutable surface of things and nothing with the struggle for existence, music is one of the 'steadiest elements in the evolution of mankind.' For this reason archaic styles survive in relatively advanced societies so that it (music) is not a reliable index of the general culture of a people, and cannot be correlated easily with other aspects of social life. But the facts of musical anthropology are facts of man's mind and experience, and the scientific collection of the available data, ranging from primitive dances with their rhythm to the song texts and tunes of folk music and the instruments employed, provide evidence for the elucidation of the origin of the art and its primary functions.

The way forward, it is urged, is not to look for links with social custom but to apply the comparative method to the material collected and see whether any generalizations about music may be deduced. Thus, for example, polyphony, or counterpoint, as a widespread phenomenon provides a field for anthropological inquiry which has produced results comparable in kind to those achieved by archaeology in classical studies. An examination of the historical problem in this context leads to the conclusion that counterpoint came into being when 'the monody of the Mediter-

anean with its fourths and fifths was crossed with the thirds that belong to North European music' as a result of melodic music of oriental origin being integrated with a different melody of European origin having a tendency towards harmony, as the ecclesiastical tradition passed to and fro over the Alps in the Middle Ages.

The relation of stylistic features to ethnological traits is next examined and care taken to avoid the many pitfalls awaiting the unwary in the use of the contentious terms 'race,' 'people' and 'nation.' Despite the confusion that reigns in this sphere of interrelationships, in the last analysis every ethnic group, it is claimed, fashions its music in accordance with natural preferences. A survey of Hungarian and Finnish folk songs and their tunes reveals a common family relationship notwithstanding temperamental differences between the two ethnologically allied peoples. Nationality, in which blood counts for less than language, geography and custom, explains some of the peculiarities in rhythm and interval, but the ethnological factor, it is maintained, accounts for the fundamental distinctions of musical idiom everywhere. This is a conclusion which anthropologists will review in the light of the rest of the data that bear upon the problem.

Passing to the English folk song, which represents some centuries of popular music, it is recognized that the tune is secondary to the words, so rich in references to custom, belief, law and symbolism. Nevertheless, the melody is passed on from one generation to another, so that it becomes an integral part of the ballad. As works of peasant art these songs and their tunes are derived from the imagery of the culture in which they arise, and preserve its sensuous experiences, emotions, impressions and patterns. They are charged with poetic feelings and values and embody concrete magico-religious images in symbolic form and allegory, as in the stories of John Barleycorn and hunting the wren. But our author is on less secure ground when, turning to palaeolithic art, he suggests that the Magdalenian artist made the image of a bison 'not for use but for contemplation.' In this context the



evidence hardly suggests that in the dark recesses of his cavern-galleries 'all he cares for is the lovely images he has drawn, the entrancing tune he has just sung.' An artist in fact doubtless he was, and from his skill in technique he may well have derived genuine aesthetic satisfaction, but it is very difficult to think that it was the beauty of his creation that filled his mind to the exclusion of the practical purposes for which the design was executed.

But whether or not one is in full agreement with all the conclusions, this provocative volume is a stimulating study not only of the application of anthropological methods to the art of music, but of the problems of thought inherent in the philosophy of music, as an aspect of ultimate reality. In all the varied fields surveyed—anthropological, philosophical, aesthetic, ethical, psychological and sociological—the author is well informed and has a contribution to make from his own standpoint. Moreover, despite the wide range of the subjects discussed, the book has a basic unity in what Mr. Howes describes as his musical *Credo*.  
E. O. JAMES

**Magic and Healing.** By C. J. S. Thompson. London (Rider), 1946. Pp. 176. Price 18s.

**19** Dr. Thompson, who died in 1943 at the age of eighty, completed this volume but did not live to see it published. He is widely known as an encyclopædic and entertaining writer on those bypaths of knowledge that lie on the borders of the more formal subjects, history, magic, medicine and anthropology. Trustworthy examples and references illustrating the connexion between these subjects can only be selected by writers who possess a wide knowledge of the early literature and history of science. Important sources of information including out-of-the-way MSS. on official and folk cures as well as the booklets published by unknown students in country districts are difficult to trace. But Dr. Thompson spent much of his long and active life in the pursuit of available references with conspicuous success. *Magic and Healing* consists mainly of examples of the old cures (or alleged cures) and prophylactic methods employed in the past by physicians and the irregular practitioners who added magic and suggestion to their professional equipment. The references and excerpts are carefully selected and cover the whole field of medicine in the past as well as the methods of the great quack 'doctors' and the local wise women. The volume provides a valuable mine of information for folklorists and students of medical history who require a general acquaintance with the subject. Specialist workers must possess a sound knowledge of taxonomy and the British flora as well as the involved nomenclature used in the herbals and early MSS. on medical botany.

Dr. Thompson's little book of 176 pages is, sad to say, the last of the author's series of works dealing with the interesting bypaths of medical history which have made his name familiar to all students of the subject. The book is somewhat marred by the absence of index or bibliography, but these minor defects are rendered less obvious by the admirable arrangement of the sections and the careful chapter headings. Dr. Thompson's book forms a worthy conclusion to the life work of a great exponent of the interesting and more popular side of the healing art.

L. F. NEWMAN

**Encyclopædia of Superstitions.** Compiled by E. and M. A. Radford. London (Rider), 1948. Pp. ix, 269. Price 16s.

**20** The publishers, in an introduction printed on the jacket of this volume, claim that: 'This is the first time that the complete superstitions which exist or have existed among British people throughout the world have been presented fully in

encyclopædic form.' They probably mean a complete record of British superstitions, but in any case the claim is fantastic as a 'full' list would form a large library of volumes each the size of the work under review. It may fairly be assumed that only a small proportion of commonly occurring beliefs in this country have been recorded and the compilers of the encyclopædia have only made selections from a limited number of books and papers on the subject.

Mr. and Mrs. Radford have adopted a flippant and colloquial style and use some of the terrible slang terms elaborated by the less reputable American journalists (e.g. a well-known billiard player is referred to as: 'billiard-star Melbourne Inman'). These affectations are out of place in a serious work and will grate on the nerves of many readers and students of folklore.

The compilers have fallen into the very common error of assigning certain superstitions to definite localities. This implies that the superstitions are restricted to the areas mentioned, but these are very unsafe generalizations and are usually incorrect. A list of the authorities quoted is given at the end of the volume but with no indication of their connexion with the text. Bonnerjea in his *Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* adopted the more desirable method of giving the reference after each example quoted. This system is a most useful one as references are not all of equal authority or merit and critical readers wish to check the original sources. Some records may be traced to unsupported paragraphs in local papers by unknown writers.

The compilers have gathered into one handy volume records of a large number of superstitions and they have included some similar beliefs among primitives for comparison. The book should be useful to students of elementary anthropology and as a desk reference book for writers on folklore in the popular press.

L. F. NEWMAN

**Population Trends and Policies: A Study in Australian and World Demography.** By W. D. Borrie. Australasian Publ. Co. (London: Harrap), 1948. Pp. xx, 263. Price 21s.

**21** If anthropology is the science of man then this book is important. Its approach is historical and quantitative; there is a tendency unduly to emphasize economic factors and to dismiss 'custom,' 'mores' and such like as briefly as possible. None the less Mr. Borrie has produced a scholarly work placing Australian population problems in their proper perspective in relation to the western world and to the Far East. The attraction of immigrants from Europe and the rejection of those from Asia is accepted without question as good Australian policy. One very minor error of interpretation may show how the neglect of non-economic factors can prejudice judgment: on pp. 135f. the late marriage age of the Irish is attributed to 'comparative illiteracy, the strength of religious factors and economic poverty,' although it has been shown that when late marriages began to be common the customary method of farm-inheritance also changed from division between the sons to descent to one son (see Arensburg and Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, 1940). This criticism, however, should not be allowed to detract from the valuable contribution made by this book within its proper field.

J. M. MOGEY

**Out of the Labyrinth.** By Andrew Hanson. London (Sidgwick and Jackson), 1948. Pp. 142. Price 8s. 6d.

**22** A series of fictitious or pseudo-historical episodes based upon the bull cult. They are well written in their way, but are of no scientific value.

RAGLAN

## AFRICA

**The Web of Kinship Among The Tallensi: The Second Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe.** By Meyer Fortes. O.U.P. (for Internat. African Inst.), 1949. Pp. xiv, 358, 16 double plates and 9 diagrams. Price 38s. 6d.

**23** The first part of this important work, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, was published as long ago as 1945 (MAN, 1948,

18). Neither book can usefully stand alone and some briefer title such as *Tallensi Social Structure*, Vols. 1 and 2, might have been more appropriate. This initial comment is not merely capricious. The existing titles of the two books are somewhat characteristic of the writing of the books themselves; in both volumes a wealth of penetrating analysis and at times brilliant generalization is embedded in too many words and often tortuous analogies. This second volume



certainly is decidedly easier to digest than the first—the terminological over-precision which produced 'incipient patri-segments' and 'effective minimal lineages' obtrudes only occasionally—but even so, the merits and limitations of the book are only likely to be fully appreciated by those thoroughly familiar with the current controversies of social anthropology. Likewise it is difficult to discuss the book except in terms of these controversies.

Broadly speaking, social anthropologists may be divided into those who consider that individual behaviour results from the incentive of self-interest, as culturally determined, and those who emphasize the external discipline imposed by moral and jural pressures. The first group tend to frame their argument around the cultural determinants of economic systems or, alternatively, around the cultural determinants of psychological personality; the second group are prone to ignore culture in its generally accepted anthropological sense and to concern themselves with the internal logic of social systems: they discuss not culture, but social structure.

In writing of the Tallensi Dr. Fortes has aligned himself wholeheartedly with the latter group of writers, and to my mind the primary importance of his book is that it is a most carefully worked out attempt to give concrete examples of structurally paired relationships which have previously been discussed only in abstract or at any rate largely formal terms. For example, when Dr. Fortes comes to discuss the relation of mother's brother to sister's son (e.g. pp. 283ff.), he gives us not only the formal socially approved behaviour, but also concrete examples of such behaviour, and he even attempts to consolidate his argument by resort to statistics. The reader is thus able to judge for himself just what the concepts of social structure mean in real-life situations. I should add, however, that the attempt, though worthy, is not altogether successful. The figures given on pp. 288f. have very little meaning; in the absence of data as to the total numerical size of the different clans mentioned it is impossible to determine how far the distribution cited deviates from the purely haphazard.

Whereas in Volume I the Tallensi social system was considered in its large-scale ramifications as manifested in lineage segmentation and the balanced opposition of ritual and secular leadership, here in Volume 2 we are concerned with the same system in its impact upon the developing family and household. Throughout both volumes one particular key theme of structural analysis is stressed repeatedly, namely the proposition that Tallensi society is an 'equilibrium' resulting from the 'polar opposition' of sundry collectivities. These range in kind from such universals as the contrast between male and female, or the psychological hostility between father and son, to the specifically Tallensi distinction between Namoo chiefs and Tali priest leaders (*tendaana*). I do not admit myself that this concept of a social equilibrium is acceptable, but Dr. Fortes has eliminated many of the theoretical objections by his dogmatic assertion that the Tallensi are culturally and economically homogeneous. This enables him virtually to dismiss economics from the field of discussion, and to interpret Tallensi social organization wholly in terms of cleavages and combinations in the fields of kinship and ritual.

Personally I feel sceptical about this alleged economic homogeneity; I do not understand for example how the Chief of Tongo, who appears to possess 30 wives, 40-odd sons and ten times as many cattle as the average Tallensi (pp. 72, 82, 270), can be regarded as a member of an economically undifferentiated community; proportionately speaking, the rich men of a capitalist society are always

only 'a handful' of the total. All the same, I readily concede that many of the concepts which Dr. Fortes develops in the course of his study of structural oppositions may prove to be valuable analytical tools, with an applicability to cultural situations far removed from West Africa. Especially thought-provoking is the sharp distinction which he draws between agnatic (lineage-based) and cognatic (biologically based) kinship ties (pp. 13ff.) and also the demonstration that, in this patrilineally ordered society, differentiation, both at the lineage and at the personal level, is expressed through contrasted female descent (pp. 229, 328; cf. Vol. 1).

Even so, despite or even because of his protestations to the contrary (p. 223), I have a suspicion that Dr. Fortes is not entirely satisfied with the somewhat mechanical appearance of the Tallensi puppets that emerge from his sometimes over-formalized analysis. Paradoxically, we find him repeatedly claiming to interpret not only the structural relations of his subjects but also their personal emotions. I need cite only one example. In Chapter IV the difficulties of Tallensi married life are presented as 'arising out of the cleavages inherent in the structure of the family' (p. 79); the formal relations which link husband and wife to one another and to the individual members of their respective families are examined in detail with great analytical precision, yet every now and then we come upon a paragraph which does not seem to form part of this logical analysis at all. The following, for example, appears to be a straight projection of European sentiments into the Tallensi situation: 'The real foundation of a lasting marriage is not custom or jural or ritual sanctions, but a satisfactory relationship between the married pair. . . . The sexual bond is of vital importance in this relationship' (p. 87). So in the end, it seems, despite the beautiful symmetries of their social system, the Tallensi are faced with the same psychological difficulties as middleclass Englishmen! Is not this tantamount to an admission that structural analysis only touches the outermost superficialities of behaviour?

The book, then, has negative as well as positive virtues. On the one hand it is a brilliant exposition of the methods of social analysis that have been developed from the teachings of Professor Radcliffe-Brown; on the other it demonstrates, even if unintentionally, the inadequacy of this method as a tool of total social analysis. Some of the remarks in the final chapter of the book suggest that Dr. Fortes may himself have reached a very similar conclusion (p. 339).

No doubt the basic argument of these two volumes could have been presented in simpler and much more readily understandable form if the author had been prepared to admit from the start that he was describing a logical system to which real-life behaviour is only a rather remote approximation, but the result might then have been much less instructive. What Dr. Fortes actually does is first to describe a formal system; then recognize the vagaries of actual behaviour; and then seek to justify these aberrations in terms of the system. It is this last mental gymnastic which makes the argument often difficult to follow, yet it is crucially important, for it is precisely here that we can recognize both the value and the limitations of structural concepts. What Dr. Fortes has really described is the moral code of the Tallensi with all its logical ramifications (p. 346); he has also shown, if only in passing, that the Tallensi do not obey their own moral rules. Without this corrective, structural analysis is liable to reduce human beings to mechanical automata and to reassert the classic anthropological fiction that 'the native is a slave to custom.' Dr. Fortes has avoided, if only just, this pitfall of his own method.

E. R. LEACH

## AMERICA

**An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.** By Gunnar Myrdal, with the assistance of Richard Sterner and Arnold Rose. New York and London (Harper), 1944. Pp. 1,483.

It is probably illustrative of one of the best aspects of modern democracy that a study such as *An American Dilemma* has been written at all. That a society is willing to have one of its main problems in human relations analysed by an outsider 'is an idea singularly American' (author's preface, p. xviii). Foundations and associations

for the promotion of scientific research are to be found in every country, but the scale on which foundations are working in the U.S.A. has hardly a parallel elsewhere. The large organization of the Carnegie Foundation and its awareness of the magnitude of the Negro problem in the U.S.A. have enabled the Swedish Professor Myrdal to gather about him a team of a hundred experts in sociology, anthropology and economics to deal with the 'comprehensive study of the Negro in the United States, to be undertaken in a wholly objective and dispassionate way as a social phenomenon'



(p. ix), which he was invited to undertake in 1937. The result has been not only the 1,500-page volume written by Dr. Myrdal himself, but also five accompanying publications<sup>1</sup> and some 35 research memoranda and manuscripts deposited in the New York Public Library (Schomburg Collection). The list of books, pamphlets, periodicals and other material referred to in *An American Dilemma* amounts to 37 pages (pp. 1144-1180), some 750 items. This, of course, is only a selection of the immense literature pertaining to the Negro problem; but it will be no exaggeration to call *An American Dilemma* and its related volumes the first really comprehensive study.

It is divided into 11 parts (45 chapters) and 10 appendices. As the author states in his Introduction (p. lvii), 'some readers cannot afford the time or energy to read it all. The main parts have, therefore, been arranged so that they can be read independently.' The arrangement has been drawn along the lines of 'color, region, urban-rural residence, social class, education, sex and age' (p. lvi), or—to quote the parts—of race, population and migration, economics, politics, justice, social inequality, social stratification, leadership and concerted action, and the Negro community.

Myrdal's study has been qualified as by far the best modern book on race relations in the U.S.A. by people as well in the West Indies as in the U.S.A. and in Europe. It thus appears to appeal to persons who approach the problem from very different angles. This is not to be wondered at, for the author, coming from a country without any minority problems and without colonial (and thus racial) experience, could afford to be unbiased as far as this is humanly possible. Moreover he states explicitly that the 'beliefs' and 'valuations' which people have about reality and how it ought to be, rationalized into their 'opinions,' lead every writer (thinker, speaker) on the problem to give a subjective picture, the present author not excluded (p. xviii and appendices 1 and 2). That history (whatever its subject) can be written anew every day and everywhere from a different angle is proved on the evidence of all the textbooks in the world and all departments of information. But even there people rationalize their points of view into what they call 'historical facts' and hardly any author is willing to admit that his presentation is personal and illogical. Myrdal's willingness to admit this draws attention to the relative value of most studies of the Negro problem, which can be appreciated only when one takes this subjective basis into account.

He goes even further, by placing the Negro problem 'in the heart of the American,' where he centres the dilemma between the moral valuations—which he calls the American Creed—and 'the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests, . . . and all sorts of . . . impulses, and habits dominate his outlook' (p. xlvii). Thus the Negro problem is mostly a white man's problem because of the conflict in his heart, but also because the white majority group 'naturally determines the Negro's "place"' (p. li).

Schrieke, in his *Alien Americans* (see MAN, 1948, 139), also stresses this point, that the position of the minority groups is determined by the (changing) outlook of the majorities towards them, but he takes his evidence partly from such minorities as Chinese and Japanese, and Mexicans and Indians, while Myrdal concentrates on the Negroes.<sup>2</sup> Myrdal also, owing to the far larger scope, technically and materially, of his study, has elaborated more on statistical research, such as conditions of the Negro wage-earner in selected industries and occupations (appendix 6), quantitative studies of race attitudes (appendix 10, and Horowitz's 'Race Attitudes' in Klineberg's *Characteristics of the American Negro*, one of the supplementary studies mentioned in Note 1), the Negro in business, professional and white-collar occupations (chapter 14), etc. (In this connexion we might refer to K. Little's study, *Negroes in Britain*, London, 1948, only, however, to draw attention to a British parallel for reasons of comparison in approach.)

From the chapter on racial characteristics may be noted another striking example of the 'beliefs' which underlie so-called scientific research. When discussing, e.g., the biological susceptibility to disease, Myrdal has to state that 'few, if any, investigators have realized fully that the whole mode of existence of Negroes—with their segregation, overcrowding and ignorance—helps to create a higher disease rate as compared to whites' (p. 141).

Such a statement is also an example of what Myrdal calls the principle of cumulation (appendix 3 and chapters 3 to 7) or the vicious circle: white prejudice keeps the Negro low in standards of living, which in turn gives support to the prejudice (p. 75). When one of these factors changes, the other will change accordingly, but the reaction goes on and causes the whole system to move in the direction of the first change (which may be either for the better or for the worse), but much further. Of course, the author explains that this is a static simplification and that the problem involves in fact processes of systems actually rolling. The main point, however, is to show that there is no one predominant or basic factor (p. 1,069). In the same way, the Negro reaction to the white attitudes and their own attitude as Americans with a split personality over the American creed and daily practice (p. 4) have a cumulative effect. They are 'withdrawing' themselves as a reaction to 'the segregation and discrimination enforced by the whites' (p. 999).

*An American Dilemma* is, of course, not a textbook on sociology; on the contrary, it is applied sociology developing sociological theories on the basis of an enormous amount of facts. Since it is written by a foreigner it has, for other foreigners, the advantage of explaining much in the American political make-up, such as the background of the Southern Democrats (chapters 20 and 21), which is very useful if one wants to understand present happenings. The book should be read by all those who have at heart a better understanding of the American people and especially by those who reproach the Americans for their 'meddling' with other peoples' affairs by asking them to look first at the beam in their own eye. For 'if this book gives a more complete record . . . of American shortcomings in this field . . . it also accounts more completely for . . . the dominant role of ideals in the social dynamics of America' (p. xix). The fact that within a short time a second edition has been necessary proves that a wide public is willing to take cognizance of this clever analysis by 'an expert on American imperfections'—a willingness which is not often found elsewhere towards one's own national imperfections.

JOHANNA FELHOEN KRAAL

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, New York, 1941; C. S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, New York, 1943; R. Sterner, *The Negro's Share*, New York, 1943; O. Klineberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro*, New York, 1944; A. Rose, *The Negro in America*, New York, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Although, in order to give perspective to the Negro problem, he treats (in appendix 3) one parallel, the women's problem.

**The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil.** Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvao. New York (Columbia Univ. Press) and O.U.P., 1949. Pp. xv, 187, plates. Price 25s.

These Indians are a tribe about 2,000 strong spread over an area to the south-east of the Amazon mouth. They are one of the few remaining tribes of the once numerous Tupi-Guarani-speaking peoples. The area inhabited by them is off the main lines of penetration, and, though superficially Europeanized, they have retained their language, religion and social system, though their absorption into the ordinary Brazilian population is merely a question of time. They live in extended families, and the men go to live, often permanently, at their wives' homes. The result of this is that daughters are preferred to sons. The men are said to be timid in sexual contacts, and the lead in these is taken by the women. Polygyny is practised to a limited extent; co-wives are usually relatives, often mother and daughter, but a man may not, or at any rate does not, marry two sisters at the same time. Many taboos must be observed by a woman both before and after childbirth, and by her husband, even if he is not the father of the child. The most prominent feature of the religion is shamanism. The shamans go into trances after inhaling strong tobacco smoke. Initiation rites formerly included a period of seclusion, followed by a feast and dance in which candidates of both sexes took part. The rites have now been simplified, and the Honey Feast and Maize Festival, both of which used to occupy several days, are falling into desuetude. At the end of the book is a collection of 37 folk tales.

RAGLAN



## CORRESPONDENCE

## A Note on the Vertical and the Horizontal as Cultural Traits in Asia

**26** SIR.—Among certain basic contrasts in orientational emphasis among Far Eastern cultures on which, so far as I know, no one has commented is that between an emphasis on the vertical in Thailand and on the horizontal in Japan.

The architecture of Siam stresses the vertical: the dwellings are on high piles and the roofs are steep; to accent this perpendicularity flaring points surmount the whole. One utilitarian reason for raising the house off the ground is the wetness of a flat river plain subject to flooding. High piles with retractable ladders also help to prevent robberies. But the cultural emphasis on the vertical goes beyond any such utilitarian functions. Modern westernized Siamese homes in Bangkok are also vertical—many of them sheer two-storey stucco houses with vertical modern shutters closed at night to keep out robbers. The family usually dwells upstairs, the servants down. Other emphases on the vertical include the steep steps and flaring roofs of the temples, the erect Buddhist *prang* and *prachedi* and the royal insignia of a tier of seven umbrellas. Sculpture in Thailand is chiefly Buddhist religious art with a characteristic Thai depiction of Buddha with the tall pointed *sirorot* on his head. The formal head-gear of royalty is tall and pointed and seems to be culturally akin to the *sirorot* of Thai Buddha figures.

In Japan the architecture is horizontal with low ceilings and sliding screens, and is set on low piles. Japan and Thailand both have basically similar South-East Asiatic homes, but the Japanese have elaborated horizontally, whereas the Siamese have emphasized the vertical. The great Buddha at Kamakura is as low as a sitting figure can well be and the 'restfulness' of its lines has often been commented upon. The Shinto *torii* with its horizontal top is in marked contrast to the sky-pointing *prang* of Siamese religious architecture.

Suggestive associated facts are these: the vertical architecture of Thailand is set in an environment of extreme flatness, the Japanese emphasis on the horizontal in the midst of mountains (yet both Japanese and Siamese house types are commonly regarded as variants of a single Malaysian form). JOHN F. EMBREE  
Yale University

## Foundation Legends

**27** SIR.—Among the Lhota Naga tribe of Assam the deciding factor in choosing the site for foundation of a new village is often given as a place where a sow was found to have littered. Thus, Mr. J. P. Mills records (*The Lhota Nagas*, 1922, p. 5): 'A common story told to account for the founding of Lungsachung, Lotsü, and several villages, runs as follows: A man had a sow which wandered off one day and could not be found. He tracked it for miles, till he found it lying under a big tree, where it had littered. He at once decided to found a village on the spot, and the tree where the sow had littered became the head-tree.'

I was most interested to see recorded in the issue of *Country Life* for February 13th, 1948 (p. 336), a letter by Mr. W. A. Call, wherein he refers to the legend of St. Brannock 'who tried to build his first church at Branton, Devon, but was much disturbed by finding that work done in the daytime was invariably destroyed by supernatural forces at night. A vision appeared to him, telling him to abandon his present site and to build on a spot where he should find a sow lying with her litter under an oak tree. The sow and her litter thus became the symbol of a divinely chosen spot. . . .'

It is a far cry indeed from the Naga Hills of Assam to the folk-lore of Devon, but the similarity seems too exact to admit of coincidence. Port Moresby, Papua Territory C. R. STONOR

## Note

The city of Alba was also founded on the spot where a sow had farrowed (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 31-85).—ED.

## A typical Bengali Hat. Illustrated

**28** SIR.—The type of hat of which I here give an account (fig. 1) is worn in the Rangpur district of North Bengal. The materials used are the old leaves of the *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) tree, bamboo cut into very thin or long, round or flat pieces for the framework, and thin jute string.

The inner frame is first made. It consists of a number of thin interlacing pieces of bamboo with a conical hollow in the centre. It is strengthened with two parallel bamboo slivers tangential to the conical hollow, and two more at right angles to them. The *śāl* leaves are then arranged in two or three layers, and are enclosed between the inner frame and a similar outer one. A circular piece of bamboo is then placed round the outer side of the hat parallel to the rim, and a similar piece on the inner side. These are tied together with jute string, threaded through the leaves. The bamboo rims of the two frames are also tied together with string, which is passed through the leaves at regular intervals round the whole circumference. A flat bamboo sliver is also fastened round the rim to support the leaves and keep them in place.



FIG. 1. A BENGALI HAT

The hat is called *māthāl* or *jhāpi* in the local dialect. The former etymologically means something connected with the head; the latter, something made of bamboo or cane. It is mainly used by the poor, irrespective of age, sex or occupation, for protection from both sun and rain. It is an artistic piece of handiwork, showing fine workmanship and an excellent sense of proportion.

With regard to the significance of this type of hat the following points may be mentioned. First, it seems to be of Mongolian origin; for a similar hat worn in Cochin-China see *Illustrated London News*, 12 April, 1947, p. 347. Secondly, it seems that a similar hat is worn in Assam as well as in East Bengal, but not in Bihar or the provinces westwards. It therefore seems probable that it came to India from the Far East, through Burma to Assam and thence to East and North Bengal.

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C. C. DAS GUPTA









LARGE CLAY PIPES FROM BAMENDA

*Approximate length of bowls: left, 8 inches; centre, 9 inches; right, 9½ inches*



THE PIPE-MAKER'S TOOLS

*a (top right) to f*

CARVED CLAY TOBACCO PIPES FROM BAMENDA, BRITISH CAMEROONS

*Photographs: M. D. W. Jeffreys*



# CARVED CLAY TOBACCO PIPES FROM BAMENDA, BRITISH CAMEROONS\*

by

DR. M. D. W. JEFFREYS

*University of the Witwatersrand*

29 Among the Ibo and Ibibio, clay tobacco pipes are moulded in the same way that one speaks of pots being moulded; in other words, the plastic clay is shaped by hand. I was therefore surprised to find that at places in the British Cameroons, where magnificent clay pipes are made, they are not moulded but carved. They are the product of a wood-carving technique applied, not to a plastic, but to a stiff clay, and the craft is entirely in the hands of men. I watched a clay carver at Fonkuko fashion a small pipe. His tools (Plate C) were all of iron, with the exception of one which from its shape and use could only be described as a wooden knife; beginning with the one nearest his hand, they were: (a) and (b) two knives for carving or sculpting the clay; (c) a large knife with which he battered the stiff clay into the required shape; (d) an iron drill; (e) a wooden knife made from a sliver of bamboo; (f) a smoothing knife.

The clay, which is very stiff and will scarcely mould when manipulated between the fingers, is ground between two ordinary grind-stones, as used for grain, to reduce all grit and pieces of stone to powder in order not to interfere with the carving. A lump of this clay about the size of a small orange is then beaten into the required shape and form with knife c. This solid lump is now smoothed all over with knife f, which has a flexible tip. Then, with the drill d, carving lines are marked out. These are shown dotted in Fig. 1a. Then with knife a the carving begins. The outside of the pipe is first fashioned, before the excavation of the bowl and the stem is undertaken. The pipe, before the excavations begin, has the appearance shown in Fig. 1b. The surfaces, roughened by the carving, are smoothed over with the smoothing knife and the external design put on with the drill d. The excavation of the bowl and stem is now carried out. The knife b is used for the first inch; then the knife a and then f. When these excavations are finished the drainage holes passing from the outside, first through the pipestem-holder at the side, near the bottom, and then into the tobacco bowl, are made

\* With Plate C and a text figure

with the drill d. This drainage hole is kept plugged with a bit of twig while the pipe is in use. The pipe is now ready for firing. Such pipes are shown in Plate C.

Not far from Fonfuka is the hamlet of Mbissa, where men make large pots in two halves, beginning at the middle and working to the base of one half, and to the

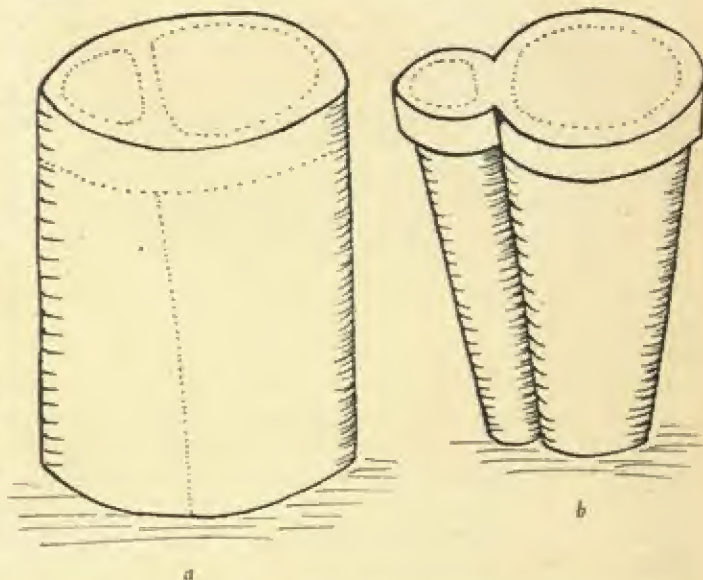


FIG. 1. TWO STAGES IN THE PREPARATION OF A CLAY PIPE

neck of the other half, which are then joined together. I asked this clay-pipe carver whether he made pots and he replied that he had gone to Mbissa to study the making of these large pots by men and had, on his return home, tried his hand at making them, but had failed and as a consequence he was not a potmaker. He also admitted that the making of large clay pipes was beyond his skill.

All the pipes illustrated are in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and were obtained by me between the years 1926 and 1936, during which time I received grants from the Wellcome Historical Foundation.

## THE RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EARLY 'POLYNESIANS' IN MELANESIA

by

DR. ALPHONSE RIESENFELD

30 In Melanesian mythology, when the immigrants who introduced the custom of erecting megaliths into Melanesia are described they are repeatedly stated to have had light or almost white skin. The first Europeans

coming to those parts were therefore frequently identified with them and called by the same name. This tradition is corroborated by the facts that from cultural and mythological evidence it seems that these immigrants probably



came to Melanesia from Micronesia, and are therefore likely to have appeared very light-skinned to the dark-skinned Papuans to whom they came; and that in those areas of Melanesia in which megaliths or other remains of megalithic culture are found the skin of the present-day population is remarkably lighter, approaching in some instances the skin colour of the Polynesians, and the hair differs from the typical Melanesian hair by being wavy, softer and in some cases almost straight. It therefore follows that the introducers of megalithic culture into Melanesia probably had light skin and wavy hair.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this people is considerably increased by the fact that for linguistic, mythological and other cultural reasons they seem to have migrated to Polynesia after crossing Melanesia, and so form one of the racial elements in the people of Polynesia.<sup>2</sup>

However, apart from these physical characteristics, nothing is yet known about their racial composition. One might, of course, approach the problem by studying the racial characteristics of all the light-skinned and wavy-haired peoples of Melanesia and by comparing them to those of the other Melanesians, but our knowledge of both these groups is still not adequate for any satisfactory comparative study. The most direct approach is by studying the skeletal material excavated at megalithic sites, but if our knowledge of the physical anthropology of Melanesia is inadequate, our knowledge of its archaeology is far more so. Moreover, even such a study is not likely by itself to reveal clearly the racial characteristics of the megalith-builders of Melanesia, since they may have come as a mixed race to Melanesia or have mixed with the Papuan population after their arrival, and since some of the skeletal remains might not belong to the immigrant race, but to a local population which adopted the custom of building megaliths, or in the case of female remains might belong to local women married to the foreign immigrants.

With these reservations in mind I should like to mention a few sites the study of which might throw some light on the racial characteristics of the megalith builders of Melanesia.

At Olal on Ambrym Island, in the New Hebrides, Suas excavated three dolmens at a depth of 4.50 metres. They were covered by a layer of humus, with a stratum of yellow volcanic sand below it and a thick layer of volcanic tuff, so it is evident that they were covered by a volcanic eruption. However the skeletons, including skulls, found in these dolmens were so decomposed that they fell to small pieces as soon as they were lifted. Only one molar and a few fragments of a femur and a tibia were collected.<sup>3</sup> Nothing has, to my knowledge, been published about these skeletal fragments and it is doubtful whether they can be used for any measurements at all.

R. Thurnwald<sup>4</sup> made excavations beneath a few dolmens in Buin, Bougainville Island. A few inches beneath the surface he found, together with potsherds, stone blades, etc., human bones in an advanced stage of decomposition, without, however, any skulls or teeth. The bones were scattered, showing that the body had not been buried as a whole. Thurnwald says that he handed over the objects he

found to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Sydney. I am, however, informed by Dr. Macintosh of that University<sup>5</sup> that the material is not deposited there.

Excavations carried out by L. Austen within the megalithic stone enclosures of the Trobriand Islands (at Otuyam, northern Kiriwina) and Kitava Island (Kadalalai and Okabululu) furnished human bones, mostly long bones, at a depth of a few feet and somewhat scattered; but in some cases, as at Okabululu (Kitava Island), these were sufficient to show that a burial had taken place. Most of the bones were in an advanced state of disintegration. In Duwulaosi, northern Kiriwina, the natives volunteered the information that years ago one could find bones near the stone enclosures, and that when gardening they had never found bones in any other part of their land except close to these old stone walls.<sup>6</sup> In a few of the limestone caves of north-east Kiriwina and Vakuta Island big prehistoric sepulchral pots containing human bones were found. These pots, which differ considerably from the pots now imported from the Amphlett Islands, are made by the coiling method. In technique and design they resemble closely the prehistoric potsherds excavated within the megalithic stone enclosures as well as the prehistoric pottery excavated in Wanigela, which I shall discuss later.<sup>7</sup> Pot-burial is unknown in the Trobriand Islands today. Both because of their strong resemblance to the prehistoric potsherds excavated within the megalithic stone enclosures and also since coiled pottery in the wider area of Melanesia is associated with megalithic culture<sup>8</sup> these prehistoric sepulchral pots must belong to the same culture as the megalithic stone enclosures themselves. Similar prehistoric sepulchral pots containing human skulls and other bones were found in some cliffs and cavities on Murua Island. Despite being well protected from the weather some of the bones had crumbled to dust and some of the pots broke when lifted, a fact which proves the antiquity of these relics. Disposal of the dead in this manner has not been practised on Murua within the memory of any native now living.<sup>9</sup>

A few of the bones excavated by Austen in the megalithic structures in the Trobriand Islands were given by him to Professor Shellshear, but according to Austen's information<sup>10</sup> they cannot now be traced. The rest were deposited in the Museum in Port Moresby, where they were destroyed by vandalism. Austen gave Lord Moyne two skulls for the British Museum. Lord Moyne's material went to the Royal College of Surgeons, where the collection suffered serious damage during the war. This collection is now in the British Museum (Natural History), but it has not yet been classified and is not accessible.<sup>11</sup> We do not yet know whether Austen's material has been saved.

On the islands of Rogeia, Sariba and Samarai (eastern New Guinea) MacGregor<sup>12</sup> found stone charnel houses consisting of a rough stone wall four or five feet high, about 12 feet long and about half as broad covered by a saddle-shaped roof. It seems that they were used for a secondary burial, since in some of them there were hundreds of long bones and only very few skulls. Again, nothing has been published on this skeletal material.



Austen<sup>13</sup> thinks that this material went to the British Museum (Natural History). However, I am informed by that Museum that it is not deposited there.

In Boianai, on the north-eastern coast of New Guinea, Williams began to carry out excavations within one of the stone circles which are relatively numerous in this area. However, because of the fear of the people that some dire results would follow, the excavations had to be filled in again. The work done sufficed to show that the stone circle was a place of burial. Remains of five individuals, including the skulls, were seen.<sup>14</sup> Because of the circumstances nothing could be learned about the character of the skeletal material.

In Wanigela, a little further to the west, a series of mounds, 10 or 12 feet high and from 50 to 100 feet long, were cleared away during the construction of a mission station. Within these mounds, at the depth of four feet, a very extensive deposit of bones, skulls, carved shells and sherds of remarkably large prehistoric pots made by the coiling method were discovered. However, the bones and skulls crumbled as soon as they were exposed to the air. Pösch, who later excavated another mound, made similar finds and, about three feet beneath the surface, discovered four human skeletons.<sup>15</sup> As previously stated, for various reasons it can be shown that the prehistoric pottery as well as the present-day pottery made by the coiling method is associated in Melanesia with the megalithic culture, a conclusion borne out by the fact that the decorative incisions of the Wanigela potsherds and decorated shells resemble strongly the patterns incised in the stones of the megalithic stone circles of Boianai and Bartle Bay, and the prehistoric sepulchral pots of Kiriwina, etc.<sup>16</sup> Moreover Joyce<sup>17</sup> has drawn attention to the striking similarity of the Wanigela pottery to that of the Neolithic of Japan, a region into which Heine-Geldern<sup>18</sup> has suggested the spread of his Malayo-Polynesian quadrangular-axe culture. Skinner<sup>19</sup> has called attention to the remarkable similarity of the Wanigela designs to those of Maori decorative art. Willitsch<sup>20</sup> in his study on Melanesian art has attributed them to the Polynesians who passed through Melanesia, and Vroklage<sup>21</sup> has associated these patterns with the megalithic culture. Moreover, a fragment of sandstone was found in Wanigela, which is probably part of a mortar;<sup>22</sup> such mortars are definitely associated in Melanesia with the megalithic culture.

Of the skeletal material brought back by Pösch, one female (?) skull and a few fragments of a male skull were studied by Bondy-Horowitz.<sup>23</sup> The most important measurements made by her on the female (?) skull are as follows:

Head length	171
Head width	124
Minimum frontal width	94
Maximum frontal width	107
Basion-bregma height	130
Horizontal arc	490
Orbital width	42
Orbital height	34
Nasal width	24
Nasal height	46

Palatal length	48
Palatal width	37
Cephalic index	72.5
Height-length index	76
Breadth-height index	104.8
Orbital index	81
Nasal index	52.2
Palatal index	77.1

Of the very few measurements which could be made on the fragments of the male skull, I should like to mention the following:

Palatal length	50
Palatal width	40
Palatal index	80

The long bones are in such bad condition that they cannot be measured. There is only one entire femur, of slender and fine structure, preserved, belonging probably to a male individual. I am informed by the Anthropological Institute of Vienna<sup>24</sup> that it is 430 millimetres long, which according to Manouvrier's system would correspond to an approximate stature of 161 centimetres.

At Wagava, in the Sogeri District of New Guinea, Williams<sup>25</sup> cleaned out a rock cleft to a depth of 18 inches and found a number of charred human bones, prehistoric potsherds and a broken quadrangular axe. Although Williams does not give any detailed description of the potsherds or the technique by which they were made, we know at least that the quadrangular axe in the whole area of Oceania, including Melanesia, is connected with the culture of the Malayo-Polynesians.<sup>26</sup> However, no detailed information is given on the skeletal remains.

Although I have been in touch with all the important museums of the world, I have been unable to locate most of the above-mentioned material and it is probable that in some cases the material has been lost or mixed up, or never been collected because of its very bad condition. The few cases in which I have been able to gather some information do not, of course, permit the making of even tentative suggestions as to the racial characteristics of these early Polynesians who passed through Melanesia before they came to Polynesia. This shows how little we know about this group, very important from a cultural standpoint although probably of lesser importance numerically, which built up the highest civilization ever known in Melanesia and which probably forms one of the racial elements of Polynesia. The present study is intended to indicate where future investigators will have to look for the remains of this race.

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nesiens und daraus sich ergebende Folgerungen fuer die Ethnologie,' *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, Vol. LXVII.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of all these questions see Riesenscheld.
- <sup>2</sup> They must, of course, be distinguished from later Polynesians who came to Melanesia by 'backwash' migrations.
- <sup>3</sup> Suas, pp. 203-205; Joly, pp. 365 f.; Speiser, p. 93.
- <sup>4</sup> p. 216.
- <sup>5</sup> In a letter of 26 April, 1949.
- <sup>6</sup> Austen, pp. 32, 34-39.
- <sup>7</sup> Austen, pp. 42, 46, 49-53, figs. 1-8.
- <sup>8</sup> See Riesenscheld, chapter on Pottery.
- <sup>9</sup> Lyons, p. 164 f.; see also Seligman, pp. 726 f., 731 f.; Seligman and Strong, p. 348.
- <sup>10</sup> In a letter which he wrote on my behalf to Prof. Elkin.
- <sup>11</sup> Letter from Francis C. Fraser, British Museum, 2 Dec. 1948.
- <sup>12</sup> In *Annual Reports*, 1888-89, p. 27, quoted also by Austen, p. 42.
- <sup>13</sup> In his letter to Prof. Elkin.
- <sup>14</sup> Williams, pp. 135, 138, Pl. X, figs. 1 and 4.
- <sup>15</sup> Chignell, p. 20; Monckton, pp. 117 f., 122, Pl. p. 116; Monckton in *Annual Reports*, 1904-05, p. 33; Etheridge, pp. 27 f.; Haddon, p. 112; Seligman and Joyce, pp. 329-331, 333-335, Pl. VIII, figs. 3, 4, 5, X-XIII; Pösch, I, p. 2, II, pp. 68-71, Pl. 7, 8, III, pp. 138 f., etc.
- <sup>16</sup> Riesenscheld, pp. 321, 325 ff.
- <sup>17</sup> P. 546.
- <sup>18</sup> Pp. 566 ff.
- <sup>19</sup> P. 239.
- <sup>20</sup> Pp. 342 f.
- <sup>21</sup> Pp. 104 ff.
- <sup>22</sup> Seligman and Joyce, p. 331.
- <sup>23</sup> Bondy-Horowitz. I am informed by the Anthropological Institute of the University of Vienna that both these skulls were destroyed during the war.
- <sup>24</sup> Letter from Dr. Ehgartner.
- <sup>25</sup> Pp. 137 f.
- <sup>26</sup> Heine-Geldern, pp. 566 ff.; Riesenscheld, chapter on quadrangular axes.

## A CARDING COMB FROM THE CHALCOLITHIC OF SYRIA\*

by

PÈRE JOSEPH NASRALLAH

31 Dera'a, the Edrai of the Bible,<sup>1</sup> is a large village in southern Syria. It is situated some kilometres from the Transjordan frontier, and is the capital of the Mühafazat (district) of Hauran. In the years following 1940 a number of very much rolled palaeolithic tools were collected in the fields near this town. In 1944 it was realized that these tools came from the Wadi Zaidê, which runs to the south of Dera'a railway station and which separates the site of the ancient town from that of the new.<sup>2</sup>

A particularly striking area, rich in worked flint, has now been discovered by me on the plateau which stretches westwards from the College of the Sisters of St. Joseph to Camp Weygand and beyond. Its northern boundary is the road between Dera'a and Yādūde. It was extremely well adapted to ancient human needs, since it is large and is defended on the west and the south by a deep valley, the

\* With a text figure

Wadi Zaidê. Small mounds rise one above the other at the western boundary of the plateau; these are rare in the cultivated section of it, between the college and the camp, but grow numerous to the west of the camp in the section which remains uncultivated. Whether these mounds indicate ruins of ancient houses or of tombs I cannot say, as it was not possible to make any soundings in them. A number of great blocks of stone still stand, dominating the valley; no doubt these are the remains of megalithic constructions. Numerous artificial hollows pit a stone bench. In fact, there are manifest indications of an important human settlement.

The industry found here clearly belongs to the second phase of the Ghassûlian Culture,<sup>3</sup> since it yields all the typical implements; but here we have a special facies of that culture. The assemblage of handicraft tools, adzes, gouges and saws, which one finds in abundance in all



Ghassûlian sites, is here expressed in its simplest terms. It is excelled in craftsmanship by the agricultural tools, picks, and especially sickle-blade elements. Agriculture, therefore, had made great strides forward in the culture which yields this industry. Since the fourth millennium the Hauran has been a great producer of wheat, and the activities of historical times (during which the country became known as the 'granary of Rome') have done no more than develop a culture already very ancient and deeply rooted.

I have described in detail the lithic materials of this site in a paper in the *Revue Biblique*<sup>4</sup>; here I wish to acquaint the readers of MAN with a very curious implement from the site, in the hope that their suggestions may help us in identifying its nature.

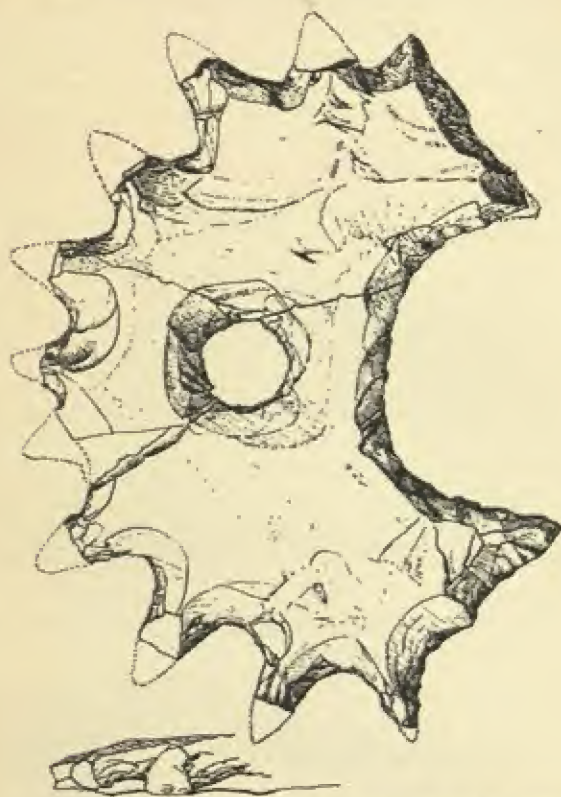


FIG. 1. A FLINT CARDING COMB FROM DERA'A, SYRIA

M. Neuville presents in Pl. 31, fig. 4, of the first volume on Teleilat Ghassûl a curious implement which he designates as 'outil multiple: perçoir, grattoirs concaves' ('a multiple tool: a piercer, with concave scrapers'). Unfortunately he gives no description of it. From the illustration we learn that the piece had had its points broken, as well as its base. This, I think, is the reason that its true nature was not recognized by the eminent prehistorian. Dera'a has fortunately yielded us one complete implement, one roughed out but never completed, and 25 large fragments of others.

Fig. 1 shows the complete implement, a beautiful plaquette of cream-coloured flint veined with pink, in shape an astonishingly regular half-moon. It is 14 cm. long, without the points, 8 cm. wide; its thickness is

nowhere greater than 10 mm. and is very regular. It is finely worked all around its periphery. The retouch affects both sides equally, to a distance of 10 mm. Eleven points (not counting two less slender ones at each extremity) radiate from the piece at equal distances from each other, around the periphery. These points are delicately retouched, and unfortunately are mostly broken. The implement has a central and biconical hole, 3.5 cm. in diameter, with sharp edges, a clear sign that the instrument had not been much used. The chord of the piece, instead of being straight, is finely worked to a crescent shape. Although broken into three pieces, the implement was easily reassembled; the body of the artifact lacked only a small splinter near the top. It shows no trace of use and no lustre; all the edges are sharp, even those of the concavities between the points.

What could have been the use of such implements? The kind of flint, the anomalous form, and the care with which the artifact had been worked at first seemed to indicate that it was a choice piece, made as an ornament or a votive offering in the form of a star. This hypothesis quickly made way for others in view of the number of pieces found: 25 large fragments, belonging to other implements of this type or of a type very close to it (some lacked the central perforation). Some fragments were as thick as 15 mm., others barely attained a thickness of 5 mm. In all the pieces the points arranged in a semicircle are strong and stand out well from the body of the piece; the edges of the concavities between the points are blunted not by retouch but by use.

In spite of the strong resemblance between this implement and a knuckle-duster, the idea that it was used as an instrument of war, either as a knuckle-duster or mace head, must be discarded. The great number of the points prevents efficient grasping by the hand; the fragility of the piece and the small dimensions of the central hole would not permit its use as a mace head. The residual hypothesis is that it was used as a tool. M. l'Abbé Breuil, to whom a photograph of the piece was submitted, has advanced the hypothesis that it may be a carding instrument, a comb.<sup>5</sup> The number of notches, alternating with intercalated projecting points, seemed favourable to this hypothesis. The instrument might have been fixed to a support, of wood or other material, by the two extremities. The worker, seizing a large tuft of raw wool in his two hands, could have rubbed it again and again across the points, thus removing the dross. This explanation does not clarify the function of the central perforation; but it should be noted that not all the pieces had such a hole. Lacustrine sites in Europe have yielded carding combs made of the ribs of animals, pointed at one end and bound together,<sup>6</sup> but in the Near East 'On n'a retrouvé ni forces, ni peignes à carder' ('Neither shears nor carding combs have been found').<sup>7</sup> Dera'a may well, therefore, have given us the first example of this instrument in flint. The numerous and large scrapers and fusaroles in terra cotta or in stone found at Ghassûlian sites and above all the osseous remains of sheep and goats exhumed from the ruins of Teleilat Ghassûl are evidences of the fact not only that the Ghassûlians were shepherds,



but that their principal industry consisted in working the hides and the wool of these animals.

Among the curious and as yet unexplained artifacts of Near Eastern prehistory may be mentioned a plaque, 12 cm. in diameter and 10 mm. in thickness at the centre and 2 mm. at the edges, worked into the shape of a circular bi-convex lens but flattened and with sharp edges, and equipped with a central hole adapted for hafting. The instrument seems to have been broken while being perforated. Four other fragments have been found, belonging to different similar pieces. The perforation is almost polished, due to rubbing by the shaft. These pieces are rare, even in Europe<sup>8</sup>; when they have been encountered in the Dommartinian they have been called club heads, in spite of their small dimensions.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 'Edrai,' column 1594; and F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Vol. II, pp. 9, 310.

<sup>2</sup> This site was previously recognized by Father Germer-Durand, and noted by other prehistorians; for bibliographical details see my paper, 'Une Station Ghassoulienne dans le Hauran,' *Revue Biblique*, Jan., 1948, pp. 81-103.

<sup>3</sup> For a bibliography on this industry see 'Étude de Préhistoire Palestinienne: Ain Karim et ses Environs,' *Bull. Soc. Préh. Franç.* 1938, Vol. XXXV, p. 70, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jan., 1948, pp. 91-92.

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication, 5 May, 1946.

<sup>6</sup> Georges Goury, *L'Homme des Cités Lacustres*, p. 429.

<sup>7</sup> A. G. Barrois, *Manuel d'Archéologie Biblique* (Paris, 1939), Vol. I, p. 462.

<sup>8</sup> Georges Goury, *L'Homme des Cités Lacustres*, p. 380; M. Bourlon, 'Les Casse-Têtes de l'Orléanais,' *Revue Préhistorique*, 1911, p. 82, mentions only eight examples found in France.

## OBITUARIES

Edgar Lee Hewett, 1865-1946

Sylvanus Griswold Morley, 1883-1948

**32** The School of American Research at Santa Fé, New Mexico, has been exceedingly fortunate and also exceedingly unfortunate—fortunate in the quality of the men who have guided its development; unhappy in losing, in the short space of two years, Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett, its organizer and first director, and Dr. Sylvanus Griswold Morley, his distinguished successor.

Edgar Lee Hewett (born 1865, died 1946) had a typically American career. Of pioneer ancestry, his free open-air boyhood on farms in Illinois and Missouri with horses and books, few but good—J. L. Stephens on Guatemala and Yucatan first among them—was followed by country schooling and a hard-won higher education, with learning keeping just ahead of teaching at each stage. He was a 'college professor' at twenty-one. In 1896 he made his first archaeological investigations in the Pecos Valley; in 1898 the Archaeological Society of New Mexico was founded under his inspiration: but from 1896 to 1903 educational work claimed him as President of the Normal University at Las Vegas; and not until 1903, deciding to make archaeology his major interest, did he go to study under Edouard Naville and Louis Waurin at the University of Geneva, which gave him his doctorate in 1908. Meanwhile he had inspired the Lacey Law for the protection of prehistoric ruins, visited Mexico and Central America, worked at Mesa Verde, Puyé and Tyonyi. In 1907 with the backing of Alice Fletcher, F. W. Kelsey and Charles Lummis in the American Institute of Archaeology, Hewett was made the Institute's director of American research, and two years later the School of American Archaeology was located in Santa Fé by agreement with the New Mexican legislature.

The years from 1907 to 1919 saw the broadening of fieldwork in the south-west; three seasons' work in Guatemala; the restoration of the Palace of the Governors at Santa Fé; the establishment there of the Museum of New Mexico and the Art Museum, the development of another at San Diego, California, and of various subsidiaries. The School incorporated in 1917 as the School of American Research was to take final form in 1930 in the three schools of Santa Fé, of Southern California (linked with their respective State Universities) and of Central American Studies in Mexico City. War responsibilities were added between 1917 and



FIG. 1. EDGAR LEE HEWETT



1927 (a motor accident in the North African desert, in 1923, having failed to kill Dr. or Mrs. Hewett or to limit their activities), and very strenuous academic work as head of the new department of Archaeology and Anthropology in the University of New Mexico (1927-35) and of a similar department in the University of Southern California (1932-34). The eighth decade of Hewett's life afforded more leisure for literary work, but until his death in the last week of 1946 he continued to preside over the Managing Board of the School in Santa Fé.

A memorial tablet dedicated at Santa Fé sums him up thus: 'Organizer and first director of the School of American Research and of the Museum of New Mexico: Leader and inspirer of youth, wise counselor and true friend of the Indian: Humanist, educator, author, scientist, and outstanding American.'

Dr. Hewett's services to science and education may be considered under various heads: his own work as an archaeologist in the Southwestern States and in Central America and as a writer; his organizing achievements as creator and director of his various Schools, Museums and University departments, and his influence on the whole standard of education, taste and public opinion in New Mexico; his success in promoting federal and state legislation for the protection of historic and prehistoric monuments, and his care for the interests and progress of the native population; and lastly, his immense influence as a trainer of archaeologists. It would be hard to enumerate all the distinguished men who have been, at some time in their careers, his pupils or his junior colleagues; let it suffice to name, from the earlier years alone, Kenneth Chapman, S. G. Morley, A. V. Kidder, Jesse Nusbaum, J. P. Harrington, J. P. Adams, Wesley Bradfield and Lansing Bloom. Hewett loved 'a real two-handed man,' one who could match his own physical strength or at least his tireless energy, whom he could leave to build a camp, conserve a ruin, survey a site or instal a museum department. To such he gave trust and responsibility, receiving in return devoted loyalty.

#### A Short Bibliography of E. L. Hewett

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*Indians of the Rio Grande Valley*, Albuquerque (Univ. of New Mexico Press), 1937.
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*Two Score Years*. Albuquerque (Univ. of New Mexico Press), 1946. Pp. 146. (Autobiography).

Sylvanus Griswold Morley (born 1883, died 1948) had a more conventional education at Pennsylvania Military College and at Harvard, where in 1904, under Alfred Tozzer, his general interest in hieroglyphics developed into a lifelong passion for Maya antiquities and the deciphering of the Maya glyphs. The year 1907 brought Morley's first contact with the Southwest, when with

A. V. Kidder and J. Gould Fletcher he answered Dr. Hewett's invitation to three volunteer students to join an expedition under the Archaeological Institute of America. The story of Hewett's testing of his three recruits has often been told—how he left them on the roof of the world at the headwaters of the McElmo: 'I want you boys to make an archaeological survey of this region. I'll be back in six weeks. If you die, don't die around camp!' 'That we didn't do so bad a job,' says Kidder, 'was mostly due to Morley. He never let up. Persistence, resolute failure to be discouraged, boundless energy, meticulous attention to detail, were characteristic of Morley throughout his career.'

A Harvard Research Fellowship, 1907-08, enabled Morley to begin work in Yucatan; from 1909 to 1914 he was on fieldwork at Quirigua and elsewhere in Mexico for the new School of American Archaeology. In 1915, as a Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he began a series of explorations of the Maya country, discovering many new cities, the most important being Uaxactun in Guatemala, with the identification of great numbers of Maya glyphs and the elucidation of the calendrical system. From 1924 to 1940 he directed the Carnegie Institution's Chichén Itza project. His contribution to Maya studies was threefold: through his own discoveries, studies and scientific publications; through his persistent and effective promotion of research projects in the Maya field; and through his wide popularization by lectures, magazine articles, and his last book *The Ancient Maya*. Mayan studies were his life work. But he had other interests. In Santa Fé, where he made his home from 1909 onwards, he was Dr. Hewett's enthusiastic lieutenant and a keen preserver of Colonial architecture, furniture and ecclesiastical art. Most fittingly was he chosen in 1947 to succeed Dr. Hewett as Director of the School of American Research. Expectations of a long and fruitful tenure of that office were shattered by his death in September 1948.

In the same month the executive committee of the Managing Board appointed the Hon. Boaz Long Director of the School of American Research, an office which carries with it the Directorship of the Museum of New Mexico and of the Laboratory of Anthropology.

BARBARA AITKEN

#### *A Short Bibliography of S. G. Morley*

- 1915 *Introduction to the Study of Maya Hieroglyphs*  
1920 *Inscriptions at Copan*  
1935 *Guide Book to the Ruins of Quirigua*  
1937 *The Inscriptions of Peten*  
1946 *The Ancient Maya* (Stanford University Press)

## SHORTER NOTES

### Recent Work in the Ethnography and Folklore of Spain.

By Doña Nieves de Hoyos Sancho

33 Two works of general character appeared in 1947: one by the veteran anthropologist Luis de Hoyos Sáinz in collaboration with myself: *Manual de Folklore: La Vida popular y tradicional*. This is a work in three parts; the first, a general introduction to the study of folklore, covers its scope and object, its history, theories and definitions. The two succeeding parts are descriptive and deal with the folklore of Spain—Part II with its spiritual culture (literature, rhythmic and plastic arts, domestic and social customs, beliefs and religion, popular science and skill); Part III with ethnography and material culture (villages and roads, houses, tools and equipment, fishing, hunting, agriculture and pastoral life, diet, clothing, arts and trades); each chapter has its bibliography. Part I is intended to give the reader a

conception of what folklore is; and the need for such a work has been evinced by the rapid diffusion of the *Manual* in America as well as in Spain.

The other general treatise is due to a younger investigator, J. Caro Baroja, Director of the Museo del Pueblo, Madrid: *Los Pueblos de España*. The author begins with a theoretical essay on ethnology indicating the lines that should be followed, proceeding to a study of the peoples of Spain before and after their romanization, and a third section (necessarily brief and summary) on the present-day regions of Spain attempting to characterize them in respect of various elements of folk life. A fairly complete bibliography adds to the value of the book.

The Biblioteca de Tradiciones Populares, a branch of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, has published several volumes. To R. del Arco y Garay, we owe *Notas del*



*Folklore Alto-aragonés* (1943), a regional monograph describing the beliefs, domestic customs and one or two other aspects of folk life. Another regional monograph, J. Caro Baroja's *La Vida Rural en Vera de Bidasoa*, covers almost every aspect of folk life. A learned study of *La Maya* is that of A. González Palencia and E. Nela, from the origin of the May festival through its appearances in every period of Spanish literature up to its present state in various regions of the Peninsula. A. Sánchez Pérez has produced in *El Culto Mariano en España* a book magnificently illustrated by 213 plates, treating in alphabetical order of the advocations of the Blessed Virgin with a history of each image and the place where it is venerated. M. Curial Yerelián in *Cuentos Extremeños* collects 145 tales, leaving them as materials for other investigators to study.

Linguistic problems have been studied by Professor V. García de Diego in his *Manual de Dialectología Española* (1946), a book intended to guide investigators by presenting a series of studies of regional dialects with a sketch of their grammar and morphology. His volume serves as a starting point for these studies, the interest of which is shown by the very considerable number of monographs recently published, as, for example, by María J. Canellada, Alonso Zamora, Guzman Alvarez, Concepción Casado, and J. Régulo Pérez.

Of exceptional interest is the work of an American professor, Aurelio M. Espinosa. His *Cuentos populares* in three volumes offers 280 tales and a comparative study of them in which the 'thematic' of each tale is subdivided into a number of concrete themes which the author follows up and analyses separately, and then, by studying them geographically, succeeds in tracing their origins.

Interesting studies—not mere collections—of proverbs are those of Dr. Castillo de Lucas, *Refranero Médico*, comprising 3,231 proverbs conveniently indexed, and another by Naval Commander Gella Iturriaga, *Refranero del Mar*; of this last the two first volumes have appeared, containing, besides the proverbs, special words, phrases and forms of speech used by seamen; a third volume of indices is promised.

The subject of popular festivals, though abundantly treated in interesting articles, has not produced many books in this period; but we must mention *La Fiesta del Corpus*, a learned study of that festival in Barcelona, by Durán Sampere, and also *Romerías Navarras*, by Baleztena, describing a class of festivals in which the people show their feelings most spontaneously.

F. Gaspar Casas deals with family life and its customs in *Costumbres españolas de nacimiento, noviazgo, casamiento y muerte*. This author has published a number of books and pamphlets on these subjects, and in the present work he deals with customs and rites from all parts of Spain. The architect González Yglesias treats of the etiquette of love in the highlands (*Protocolo del amor serrano*), describing the truly ritual customs of courtship and marriage ceremonies in the Alberca, that most interesting corner of Salamanca Province, the letterpress reinforced by many beautiful illustrations.

There are authors who specialize in a single region or locality and deal with various aspects of its culture, for example, in Valencia, Almela Vives, to whom we owe an attractive volume on costume, *El Traje Valenciano*, small but copiously illustrated as the subject requires. The same author treats of other Valencian topics—festivals and games—as *Cometas en el cielo valenciano*. In the same city we have Sr. Gayarro Lluch, author of *Aucologías valencianas*, a series of illustrated calendars or 'aleluyas' satirizing the life and happenings of the city. In the Catalan city of Gerona the learned J. Plá Cargol is constantly offering us studies of its historical, artistic or popular aspects. Of special interest for our purpose is his *Gerona popular*, a well illustrated work treating of

all sides of folk life from fairs and markets with their festivals and dances to local industries. To the same writer we owe *Santuarios y tipismo de las comarcas gerundenses*, a study of popular religious life in all parts of the province.

Numerous articles of ethnographical and folklore interest are constantly appearing in the various regional reviews and magazines, while the *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, published from 1945 onwards by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, specializes in these subjects.

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#### A Tribal Art Research Unit

34 The future of the aboriginal peoples of India has long been a subject of controversy. Their spirit has been broken by regulations, often puritanical, imposed without appreciation of their real needs; their art has rapidly disappeared under the influence of an unsuitable system of education. They cannot now be isolated, but the problem is how they can safely pass through the stage of acculturation without losing the many valuable elements in their tribal cultures. Greatly increased knowledge on the part of administrators and the general public is the only means by which these problems can be assessed and solved.

With this object in view the Bhumijan Seva Mandal twelve years ago started a research department. It has now been decided to enlarge this into a new unit, the Tribal Art Research Unit



(TARU), which will investigate mainly on the lines of art and literature, making special use of painting and photography. It will build up a library of books and films, a museum of tribal art and a collection of paintings and photographs. Its sphere will include South-East Asia.

TARU is planned to consist of members, who will devote themselves to the work of the unit, associate members, assistants and an advisory committee. The members at present are Verrier Elwin, D. V. Sassoon and Shamrao Hivale. The unit will not ask for financial support from the Government and initial expenses will be heavy. Contributions may be sent to J. P. Patel, Elphinstone House, 10 Churchgate Street, Fort, Bombay, or to J. M. Sassoon, Grosvenor House, 21 Old Court House Street, Calcutta 1.

#### International Folk Music Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, 17-21 July, 1950: Preliminary Notice

**35** The International Folk Music Council announces that an International Folk Music Conference will be held in Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A., from 17 to 21 July, 1950. The principal themes will be: imported and indigenous elements in

American folk music; authenticity in folk music; the interdependence of folk music and art forms. The conference will be held in conjunction with the Mid-century International Folklore Conference, which will take place at Indiana University from 22 July to 5 August.

Applications for membership of the conference, and titles and summaries of papers to be offered, must be submitted by 31 May. Further information may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, International Folk Music Council, 12, Clorane Gardens, London, N.W.3.

#### International Anatomical Congress, Oxford, 1950

**36** Notice has been received by the Institute that an International Anatomical Congress will be held in Oxford from 25-28 July, 1950, under the Presidency of Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S. Sections are being planned to include the following subjects: general anatomy, histology and embryology, morphogenics and endocrinology, neurology, physical anthropology. The secretary is Mr. G. Weddell, Department of Human Anatomy, University Museum, Oxford.

## REVIEWS

### MISCELLANEOUS

#### *Aesthetics: A study of the Fine Arts in Theory and Practice.*

By James K. Feibleman. New York (Duell, Son and Pearce), 1949. Pp. xii, 464. Price \$5

**37** This is a difficult book, but none the less valuable; for Professor Feibleman goes to the roots of things, and links aesthetics throughout with his ontology. Only the first part (pp. 1-244) is concerned with the theory of aesthetics; the remainder with examples of practice. He begins with the artist, but admits that some natural objects have artistic merit, though there must be someone to discover it. The artist has unusual awareness of certain values: he does not create but discovers them, the statue in the marble, the 'speaking likeness' in the features, the beauty in the sunset. These all exist as possibilities in a world which is only partly actual; the artist makes them actual, and thenceforward they have independent existence, and he can like or criticize them like anyone else. In music he can (with an agreed notation) make it possible for others to repeat his discovery: in dancing we have no such notation yet. Works of art, as such, are not 'good for anything' except the discovery and perpetuation of the kind of value which we call beauty. This is the imitation of things as they ought to be, with the aid of things as they are; it reveals the ideal harmony of parts in a whole. This results not only from the artist's choice of postulates from which to make deductions; he has also to make his deductions in the particular instance, more or less perfectly according both to insight and to skill. Here logic is involved, and a rational standpoint and procedure, as well as artistic intuition. Critics and appreciators similarly understand the structure of a work of art, as well as feel its beauty. Classic art 'deals with what is true and therefore permanently actual.' Romantic art copies the actual, immediate, and less than permanent, as in all modern art, in an age which regards physical particulars alone as real.

Since art requires an appreciator as well as an artist, it has a social object, and is influenced by many social factors, but not limited by them. The artist is thus always 'ahead of his time,' like the man of science: he is concerned to realize possibilities. He cannot yet build on other artists' works—but can he not?—as the man of science does; but apprehension of artistic value grows, as knowledge grows, towards an ultimate interpretation of the world.

This brief summary of Professor Feibleman's position needs to be applied, as he does apply it, for example to Tragedy and Comedy, to Poetry and Dancing, to Architecture and Music. Especially

suggestive are his enquiries, What are the possibilities which Shakespeare makes actual in *Hamlet*? What is the beauty of a building apart from its convenience? In what sense is there an art of living? What subject, or category of subjects replaces in modern art the traditional mythologies in which people no longer believe? The claims of divers recent 'schools' to have discovered fresh aspects of reality, or modes of recording them, are dissected with candour and some humour, with particular instances, some of them rather surprising, and less known away from New Orleans. A certain amount of repetition is perhaps inevitable, if the philosophical standpoint is to be maintained; but considering the complexity and variety of its contents, the book is not unduly long. As an illustration of the relation of parts to a whole, what is the use of printing the word 'aesthetics' at the top of every page. Without chapter-headlines, one has to recur continually to the table of contents to discover where one is in the argument.

JOHN L. MYRES

#### *Social Structure: Studies presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown.* Edited by Meyer Fortes. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1949. Pp. xvi, 234, portrait. Price 25s.

**38** The proper person to review this volume is Radcliffe-Brown himself; for the contributors run true to form, over many different courses, and illustrate the great advances in social anthropology which result from statistical and schematic analysis. They are not easy reading, and others beside lay readers need a glossary.

The editor prefixes an appreciative estimate of Radcliffe-Brown's career and influence: 'his interests, his learning and his philosophy of life are as much those of the humanist as of the man of science.' Lloyd Warner describes a 'Methodology for the Study of Social Class' which is more amusing than it is meant to be; Margaret Mead illustrates the difference between statistical analysis and a historical point of view, Gregory Bateson the notions of 'ethos' and 'schismogenesis,' published in 1936, in the very peculiar society of Bali. Meyer Fortes writes on 'Time and Social Structure' in Ashanti; Evans-Prichard on 'Nuer Rules of Exogamy and Incest,' Schapera on incest among the Tswana of South Africa: both show curious extensions and implications. Fred Eggan traces the workings of the 'Lineage Principle' among the Hopi; Max Gluckman describes an elaborate circumcision ceremony among the Wiko. There are three papers on matters of administration: Raymond Firth, 'Authority and Public Opinion in Tikopia';



Ian Hogbin, 'Government Chiefs in New Guinea'; J. F. Embree, 'American Military Government,' an amazing extemporization which stresses the need of humanity as well as justice and efficiency.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Road to Survival.** By William Vogt, with an Introduction by Bernard Baruch. 4th impression. London (Collins), 1949. Pp. xvi, 336. Price 15s.

39 Here is yet another plea for understanding and provident action on the world-wide problems of devastation and over-population; well-informed, well-written, and most weighty in its arguments and recommendations. The author is Chief of the Conservation Section of the American Union, and has immense sources of information at command. He has travelled widely and discussed his problems with all manner of people. And he is quite fearless and outspoken on these urgent matters.

Few of us realize how urgent they are. But the statistics of population growth and soil-erosion alike, though of recent collection, and still imperfect for many countries, are quite indisputable; the conclusions from them may be drawn by everyone and the dangers which are imminent threaten everyone alike. Few, even with some geographical training, appreciate the rapidity with which the world-wide dissipation of cultivable soil is impoverishing not only highly civilized countries but backward lands and peoples in all continents. It begins to be evident that apart from regions of tropical forest and arctic snowfield the natural regime is almost everywhere deranged already, and that many widely commended precautions are revealing in practice unsuspected consequences and setting fresh problems.

The fundamental question is twofold—'What is man doing to his environment?' and 'What is his environment doing to him?'; and they are intimately connected. Beginning with vivid illustrations of devastation as it affects individual sufferers, Vogt emphasizes and distinguishes the four principal modes of destruction, by fire, axe, plough and firearms used against the buffalo and other wild animals. In many regions the plough has been most disastrous of all; Vogt describes its ravages as 'mining' the land to gain unjustifiable returns.

A forcible chapter dissipates what is called the 'Industrial Illusion,' industrialization is a stop gap, and the maintenance of the crowded industrial populations is the worst burden on the cultivators. With it is coupled the 'Sanitary Revolution' which disorganizes water-systems, diverts manure from the land, pollutes the rivers and

destroys fisheries. A recent American gadget which chops up kitchen garbage so that it may go down the sink illustrates the perversion of unthinking ingenuity to wastrel ends.

Chapter 5 has a careful analysis of the rainfall, and the devastation of over-cultivated lands. Even the much praised Tennessee Valley Authority does not escape criticism, or the project for a Missouri Valley Authority under quite different conditions. Then follows a retrospect of man's interference with American conditions since the Discovery. Though things have gone very badly in the United States, the devastation of South America is incredibly worse; and here, as elsewhere, a prime agent of destruction is the private capitalist, unchecked by corrupt administrators and politicians. Absentee farmers complete the ruin begun by the lumbermen. Similar surveys follow for the other continents, and a peculiarly tragic outlook is discovered for Africa.

So much for man's exploitation of his world. The other danger comes from unregulated reproduction, all the more rapid and uncontrollable now that 'medicine has lowered the death rate, especially in infancy and old age. India is the worst example, where 'sex-play is the national sport,' and men breed 'with the irresponsibility of cod-fish' (p. 227). Here too the statistics are beyond dispute; the only question is whether social reforms and a new outlook can be established in time to meet an imminent crisis.

Perhaps this plain-spoken and earnest book may do something to save mankind.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Cultural Sociology.** By J. L. and J. P. Gillin. New York (Macmillan), 1948. Pp. viii, 844. Price 8s

40 American university authors produce textbooks which generally reach a high standard and are occasionally excellent. This book would seem to fall into the latter category. Despite its comprehensive nature and several long discussions on American sociological terminology, the style is easy and the text ably illustrated by pictures, cartoons and drawings. One of the authors has had field experience of primitive peoples in British Guiana and in Central America; comparisons drawn from this and from anthropological literature are freely used to illustrate points in the sociology of modern America. The value of the book to the reader interested in anthropology lies in its definitions of terms in current American usage, in its careful and critical bibliographical details and in its appreciation of how the study of the primitive peoples can be used to gain an objective viewpoint and to throw light on the workings of our modern civilization. J. M. MOGEY

## ASIA

**The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law.** By R. F. Barton, with an Introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel. University of Chicago Press and C.U.P., 1949. Pp. xii, 275, 7 text-figures, 29 plates. English Price 22s. 6d.

41 R. F. Barton died in April, 1947, leaving the manuscript of this book to be finally prepared for press by Dr. Fred Eggan. The resulting work, though in places rather disjointed, is a most valuable supplement to Barton's earlier publications. From some points of view it can be considered to represent a revision of the classic studies of *Ifugao Law* and *Ifugao Economics*, published in 1912 by the University of California. Though the ethnographic details differ, the conceptual tools of the present analysis could with advantage be applied to the earlier work.

The Kalingas are upland rice growers of Central Luzon. Their territory abuts immediately on to that of the Tinguian and the Bontok Igorot, the neighbours of the Ifugao. All these groups appear to represent, in a sociological sense, variations on a single cultural and structural theme. The present study is primarily an analysis of customary law as it affects local organization, and is thus directly comparable with Barton's earliest work on the Ifugao mentioned above. Throughout the book points of principle are brilliantly demonstrated by reference to concrete examples.

To my mind the most valuable single section, in what is throughout an important book, is the analysis of the operative kin-group (pp. 66f.). Bilaterally defined descent groups of flexible 'width'

are widespread in Indonesia, but, in the English language at any rate, have seldom been adequately described, and this has frequently led to confusion. This is notably the case in Barton's own work. Hartland in 1924 (*Primitive Law*, p. 23) commented upon the difficulty of understanding the central legal position occupied by the Ifugao 'family' when the nature of this 'family' had never been precisely explained. The Kalinga study now makes it clear that what Barton formerly termed 'family' is a bilaterally defined descent group of flexible size which possesses qualities of structural continuity that are lacking in the 'simple family' as that expression is normally understood.

Apart from this work on the Kalingas Barton has also left a completed manuscript relating to a neighbouring group, the Kankanae Igorot. Publication of this is promised, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will then be taken to compile a bibliography of the extensive but very scattered materials now available concerning this whole group of Central Luzon peoples.

E. R. LEACH

**Apayao Life and Legends and Ilongot Life and Legends.** By Laurence L. Wilson. South-East Asia Institute, Baguio, Philippines (London: O.U.P.), 1947. (a) Pp. vi, 195 and 25 plates; (b) pp. 109 and 19 plates. English price 2s. 6d each

42 The Apayao (pop. 11,000) and the Ilongot (pop. 2,500) are nesiot-mongol pagan groups in north-west and east-central Luzon



respectively. Both show some Negrito admixture and are culturally more primitive than their better-known neighbours the Igorot, Kalinga, Ifugao and Tinguian. These booklets will be mainly of interest to comparative folklorists and specialists in Indonesian linguistics. Each contains an amateurish 20-page section of general ethnography, followed by a series of folktales, grammatical notes and vocabulary. Many of the tales are given in both native text and English translation. The illustrations are poor. E. R. LEACH

**Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Chinese Culture and Personality.** By Francis L. K. Hsu. London (Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. xiv, 317 (12), 26 plans and diagrams in text. Price 16s.

43 Dr. Hsu appears to believe that geographical China, despite its vast size and linguistic diversity, possesses an essentially unified culture, so much so that all Chinese males can be docketed as possessing one or other of five 'personality configurations' (p. 283). These Chinese universals are demonstrated by means of an analysis of family behaviour in 'West Town,' which the unwary might suppose to represent a 'typical' West China city. Careful reading plus a knowledge of local geography (Dr. Hsu gives no map) show that West Town is in fact Hsi Chou, a Min Chia townlet near the north end of Lake Tali in Yunnan. This is about as typical of China as Londonderry is of England. The actual fieldwork data is thin, but this is filled out with comparative material from other parts of China. Though somewhat impressionistic, the main body of the book provides a good description and analysis of the type of cultural behaviour generally associated with ancestor worship in commercial and gentry-class families in most parts of China. The meaning of 'filial piety' in concrete situations of family life is made clear,

and the correlation between residential arrangements and family type, which Dr. Hsu demonstrates by means of numerous lucid diagrams, also has considerable value. The psychological analysis is much more questionable. Dr. Hsu attempts to use this field study of ancestor worship as a basis for personality interpretation of the kind proposed by Kardiner and Linton (*The Individual and his Society*, 1939). He apparently believes that the prosperity of Chinese families follows a regular and simple pattern of cyclic rise and fall over a period of three or four generations and he postulates a corresponding variation in the type personalities of family leaders. I claim no expertise in this difficult field, but it appears to me that Dr. Hsu is here using highly technical psychological concepts in a decidedly unscientific manner.

In support of his theory of cyclic variation in personality type Dr. Hsu analyses certain historical documents which have also been worked over by other scholars (pp. 5-9, 301-310). This has nothing to do with West Town, but it may interest some in view of the divergence from the better-known interpretation of K. A. Wittfogel. E. R. LEACH

**Burmese Folk Tales.** By Maung Htin Aung. Calcutta and O.U.P., 1948. Pp. xxxii, 246. Price 16s.

44 This scholarly work by the Professor of English Literature at Rangoon University contains English translations of seventy-four tales, preceded by a thirty-page critical introduction. The tales were originally recorded in the period 1933-37 and originate from the Pakokku and Thayemyo Districts of Burma. No previous collection of Burmese folk tales has been published either in Burmese or in English, and Professor Htin Aung's initiative is most welcome. The translations are in a straightforward and very readable style. E. R. LEACH

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Indonesian Art.** Cf. MAN, 1949, 91, 143 and 155

45 Sir,—It is a pity that Dr. Leach, in his reply to Dr. Heine-Geldern, should have to bring in the names of the late Sir Grafton Elliott Smith and Dr. W. J. Perry to palliate, by an implied invidious contrast, his 'somewhat impertinent notice.' Dr. Leach may not realize the width of the gulf that separates the British diffusionists from their Continental and American confrères. The difference is one of kind, not of degree, the difference between the quick and the dead. It is the contrast between the treatment of culture distribution as something dynamic and as something static. Even the 'wildest speculations' of the British diffusionists are more soundly based on psychology and an understanding of human nature than are many of the more orthodox theorizings in the fields of social and cultural anthropology.

It is, then, surely vitally relevant to the study of an art form (or to Dr. Leach's 'interest in the objects themselves') whether or not it is the direct and spontaneous expression of the creative psyche of the group by whom it is produced, without the mediation of other art forms experientially developed and crystallized in a different cultural environment. Otherwise the interest of the modern art world in native art as 'primitive' (vide the recent I.C.A. exhibition, MAN, 1949, 3) rests on a profound misunderstanding of the situation.

The word 'primitive' has a reasonably clear meaning, especially in relation to human history, as 'original' or 'primary,' and not 'derivative.' Consequently, as most native art is, by common consent, the end product of an indeterminate period of development which was subject to unverifiable vicissitudes of culture contact, and is largely traditional in conception and execution, it is far removed from the strict meaning of the word 'primitive.'

If the art world's interest in native art is based on the belief that it is 'primitive,' it is time that the sandy foundations of that belief were exposed to view. There cannot be much doubt that a synchronistic 'interest in the objects themselves' is less likely to assist this process than the diachronistic diffusionist method.

May I add, Sir, that it is very refreshing to find the case for the 'function,' in fieldwork, of the enquiry into origins as admirably stated as it is by you in your appended note to Dr. Leach's letter. London, E.5 C. E. JOEL

**A 'Neolithic' Midden**

46 Sir,—In MAN, 1923, 53, the late Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Cooke described 'an undisturbed midden and firehearth at Chark near Gosport,' and concluded that the midden was 'a true type of the middens of the Neolithic age.' Its principal features included 'the total absence of any pottery,' and no animal bones were found; nor was any charcoal found in the midden, though there was a six-inch layer at the firehearth. On 17 April, 1949, with Mr. J. C. Draper, of Fareham, I examined the midden again. We excavated a fair quantity of material, including thousands of winkles, mussels and oysters, but only three wheiks. I had visited the midden in 1924 and was well acquainted with its position. Since my earlier visit its use as a gravel pit has ceased, so the midden was practically untouched since 1924. On the present occasion Mr. Draper and I found small pieces of charcoal and fragments of small bones (bird or rabbit?) and of worked flint; the latter (like those found previously there) were practically unpatinated. These charcoal, bone and flint fragments were found in the midden. Some of the fragments of flint had been burnt: Mr. Draper also identified two potboilers. We did not find the firehearth (some 50 yards to the east of the midden); but to our surprise we found two tiny pieces of coarse, black pottery underneath the midden. The pottery was sent by Mr. Draper to an expert for a report, which was to the effect that it might belong to any period between the Iron Age and Mediaeval times. One interesting point, not mentioned by Cooke, is that at one place the midden is divided into two layers by the intervention of a layer of loam six inches thick. The pottery was found below the lower layer.

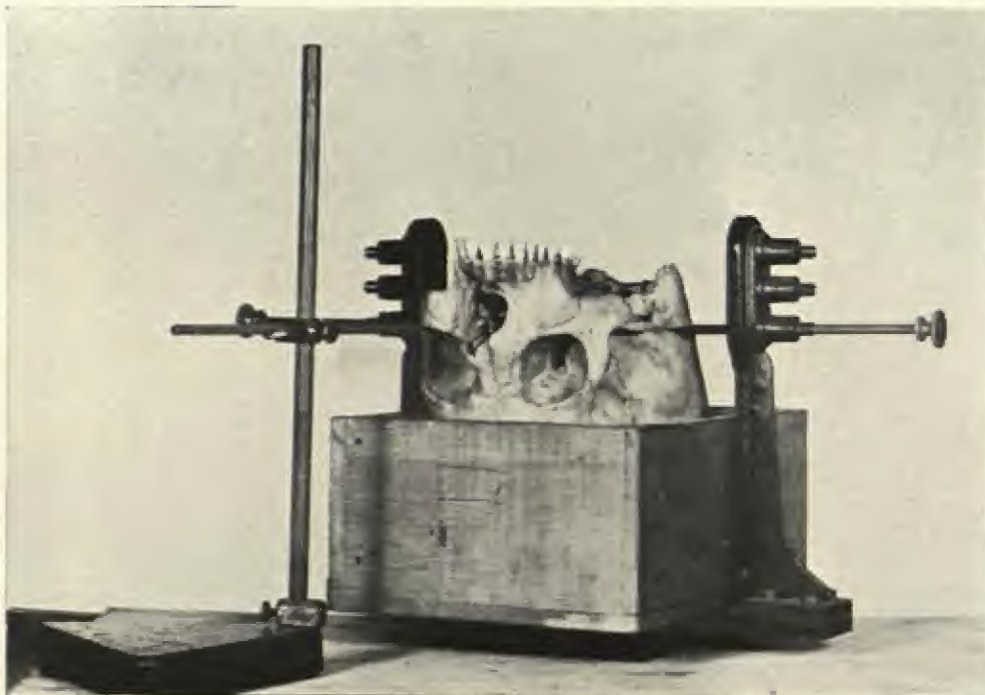
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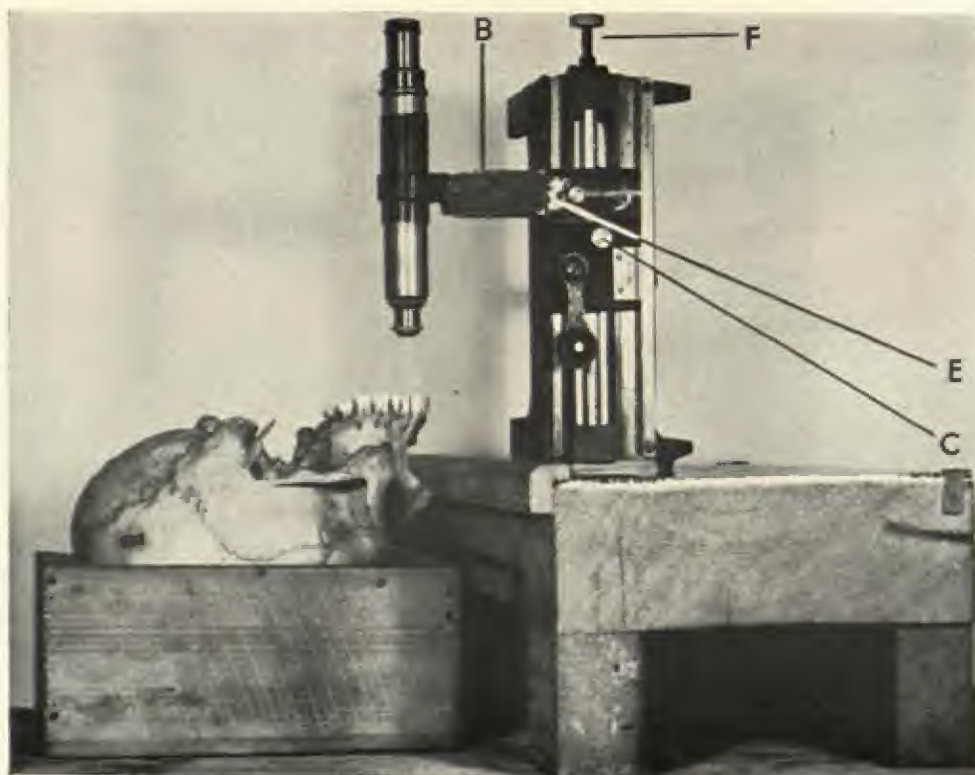








(a) METHOD OF ORIENTATION OF SKULL



(b) TRAVELLING MICROSCOPE IN POSITION FOR MEASURING PALATAL HEIGHT

THE MEASUREMENT OF PALATAL HEIGHT AND LENGTH



# THE MEASUREMENT OF PALATAL HEIGHT AND LENGTH BY MEANS OF THE TRAVELLING MICROSCOPE\*

by

A. S. BREATHNACH, M.B., B.CH., B.A.O., M.S.C.

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47 It has frequently been pointed out (Crewdson-Bennington, 1911; Pearson, 1924) that lack of standardization in technique and in the definition of terminal points has rendered more or less useless much of the metrical work which has been performed on the palate. This applies particularly to the measurement of height and length, with the result that the value of the collected data for these characters in the assessment of racial affinities and differences is, to say the least, questionable. Accordingly, it appeared that an examination of alternative methods for measuring these characters might be of value in contributing towards a more standardized technique, and this paper deals with the application of the travelling microscope in this regard.

The significance from an anthropological point of view of these measurements is not easy to assess. For instance, the height attained by a given palate may depend upon a number of factors, such as the manner of breathing, environmental conditions (Wood-Leigh, 1937), size of teeth, etc., and as the heights of most palates usually fall within the range of 8 to 23 millimetres it is extremely difficult to determine what absolute difference in height between two palates should be regarded as being of racial significance. The same applies, though to a lesser degree, to measurements of palatal length. It is clear, however, that these questions of racial significance cannot be answered until adequate comparable data are available, and this depends on the adoption of a standard technique which is both practicable and accurate.

## Definitions

Since the palate is arched in two different planes, the sagittal and the coronal, the term 'height' is open to a dual interpretation. It may be taken to mean either the distance of the roof above a line joining the inferior margins of the alveolar processes (fig. 1a) or the height of a selected point upon the roof above a line passing through the alveolar point parallel with a defined horizontal—usually the Frankfurt horizontal (fig. 1b). These two measurements may be termed the 'coronal' and the 'sagittal' heights respectively. That these two characters of the palate are not obviously related to one another can be seen from Table I, which shows the figures for the sagittal and coronal heights of twenty-two different palates chosen at random. It is clear that they may vary in opposite directions independently, and it is therefore desirable to retain both measurements in any complete investigation of the palate.

\* With Plate D and three text figures

TABLE I.—CORONAL AND SAGITTAL HEIGHTS OF 22 PALATES MEASURED AT THE LEVEL OF THE SECOND MOLARS

No.	Coronal height	Sagittal height
1	15.0 mm.	15.5 mm.
2	11.0 "	15.0 "
3	14.0 "	21.0 "
4	9.5 "	17.0 "
5	14.0 "	12.0 "
6	16.0 "	19.5 "
7	13.5 "	16.0 "
8	7.5 "	12.0 "
9	15.0 "	16.5 "
10	9.5 "	12.0 "
11	10.0 "	9.5 "
12	8.0 "	11.5 "
13	13.0 "	14.0 "
14	13.0 "	21.5 "
15	11.0 "	19.5 "
16	16.0 "	11.5 "
17	10.5 "	17.0 "
18	11.0 "	15.0 "
19	10.5 "	14.0 "
20	15.0 "	14.0 "
21	12.0 "	17.0 "
22	7.5 "	17.0 "

*Sagittal height.* This is usually defined (Tildesley, 1920) as the maximum height of the palate above a horizontal drawn through the alveolar point, parallel with the Frankfort horizontal, the measurement being taken from a

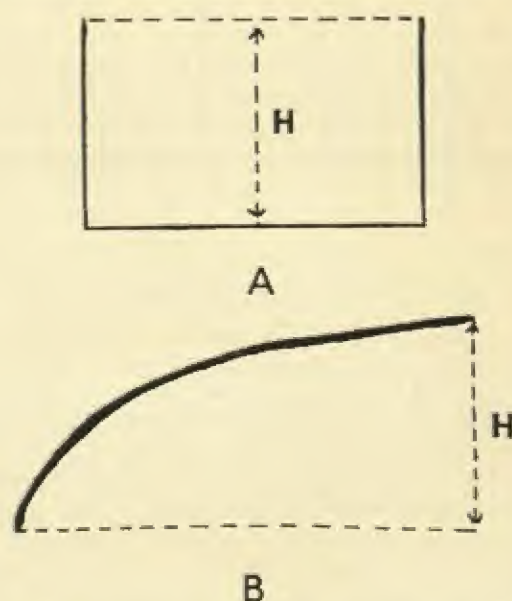


FIG. 1. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CORONAL (A) AND THE SAGITTAL (B) HEIGHTS OF THE PALATE



tracing of the sagittal outline of the palate obtained by means of a Klaatsch contour tracer. The maximum height alone is measured by this method, and I suggest that the measurement of the sagittal height opposite a number of defined points in the sagittal plane might offer a better basis for the comparison of different palates, especially as this would give an indication of their relative degrees of curvature. The following points are suggested: the posterior margin of the incisive foramen, points opposite the second premolar and first two molar teeth, and the staphylion.

There are several sources of inaccuracy to which Tildesley's method is liable. As she points out, defects in the Klaatsch apparatus such as wearing of the scribe and warping of the board may project a point as far as 1 millimetre away from its true position, an error of 5 per cent. in the case of a measurement which rarely amounts to more than 20 millimetres. There is also the error involved in orienting the skull in the Frankfurt position, although this is inherent in any method employed.

**Coronal height.** This is usually defined (Morant, 1922) as the height of the roof of the palate above a line joining the

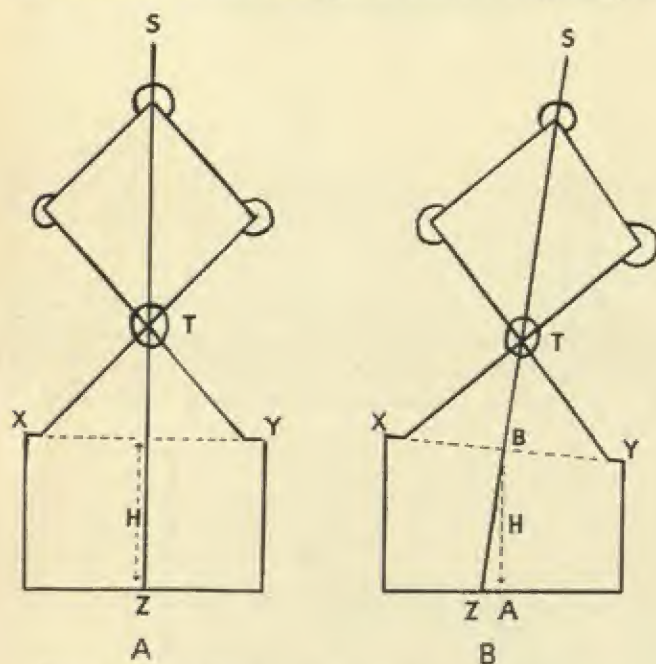


FIG. 2. MEASUREMENT OF THE CORONAL HEIGHT WITH PEARSON'S URANISCOMETER

(A) Symmetrical palate (B) Asymmetrical palate

inferior ends of the inner alveolar walls at the level of the second molar teeth, and is measured by means of Pearson's uraniscometer. In principle this consists of two portions (fig. 2): a cruciate-shaped part, the points X and Y of which are placed upon the inner alveolar walls at the level of the second molars, and a vertically running slide S, the tip of which, Z, abuts against the roof of the palate and which can be fixed in relation to the rest of the instrument by means of the screw T. The height H is read from a graduated scale to which the instrument is transferred after

it has been adjusted on the skull. By means of screws the instrument can be adjusted to fit palates of varying width and height.

In practice, certain difficulties are encountered in the use of this instrument which are due primarily to asymmetry of the skull. In most skulls the right and left inner alveolar margins project unequally beyond the roof of the palate, and it is therefore impossible to ensure that the height is measured opposite the same point upon the roof in all cases. Reference to fig. 2 will help to make this clear. In a, the case of a perfectly symmetrical palate is shown and the height H, as measured by the uraniscometer, is seen to be taken from a point Z on the roof midway between the points X and Y. In b, the case of an asymmetrical palate is taken, and it can be seen that the height measured is the distance BA, and that the point A will lie to the right or left of the mid-line. In practice this distance from the mid-line may be as much as 3 millimetres, so that the point on the roof may have a side-to-side variation of 6 millimetres. Again, the tip of the slide may come to rest on a local elevation, such as the palatine torus, or it may dip into a widely open sagittal palatine suture. For these reasons it is difficult to obtain comparable measurements by this method. To enable this to be done, I suggest that the coronal height should be expressed as the mean projection of the inner alveolar walls beyond a point upon the roof placed to one side of the sagittal palatine suture (the right side), opposite the mid-points of the sockets of the second molar teeth.

**Length.** Owing to the existence of a multiplicity of possible terminal points (see Pearson, 1924; Morant, 1922; Fawcett, 1901) the term 'length of palate' has been given various meanings. Arguments for and against each of these can be advanced (see Pearson, 1924), and taking these into consideration it would appear that the most suitable posterior point is the staphylion, the choice of anterior

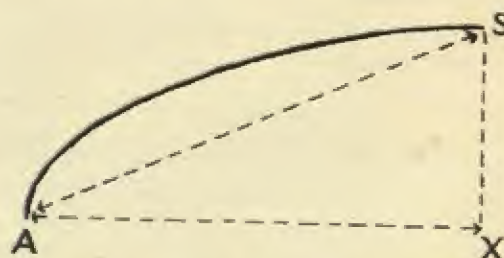


FIG. 3. PALATAL LENGTH AS MEASURED BY CALIPERS AND BY MICROSCOPE

point resting between the alveolar point and the orale, this being necessary because of the frequency with which the bone in the region of the former is broken or chipped away. The detailed technique of the marking of these points has been described by Buxton and Morant (1933), and the measurements are usually taken by means of small calipers. As the terminal points do not lie at the same level these measurements are oblique ones, the alveolar-staphylion length being in fact the chord of the sagittal arch of the palate.



The measurement described below differs somewhat from the above, and is illustrated in fig. 3. In this figure the line AS is the length usually measured with calipers. The line AX—which is a line parallel with the Frankfurt horizontal—represents the length as it would appear to the eye, or as it would be estimated from a drawing or a photograph taken with the skull oriented upside-down in the Frankfurt position. This length can be measured conveniently and accurately by the method about to be described, and has the advantage that it is similar to the length as estimated from drawings and photographs, which cannot be said of the classical alveolar-staphylion length. It is defined as the distance from the alveolar point of a point in the air so placed that it lies at the junction of a perpendicular dropped from the staphylion with a horizontal passing through the alveolar point, parallel with the Frankfurt horizontal.

#### *Marking of Points*

The following points are marked in Indian ink on the skull: the alveolar point, the staphylion, the posterior edge of the incisive foramen, the mid-points of the inner margins of the sockets of the second premolar and first two molar teeth, and finally, points on the roof of the palate immediately to the right of the sagittal suture, so placed that with the skull oriented upside-down in the Frankfurt position, they lie vertically above lines joining the lateral socket points. These latter roof points are marked as follows: the skull is placed upside-down in a box half to three-quarters filled with sand, and sunk fairly deeply in. This is then transferred to a portion of a craniphor (see Plate Da) and the skull is adjusted so that the horizontal bars touch the poria on each side. By suitable adjustment the orbitale is brought into contact with the tip of the independent pointer in front (the tip of which lies at exactly the same level as the tips of the lateral bars) and the skull is thus oriented in the Frankfurt position, the sand holding it in place. The box with its contained skull is then transferred to a larger box, the roof of which consists of a smooth detachable glass plate, and which is so constructed that a hand can be introduced through the side under the glass. With a dioptoscope, the positions of the socket points are marked on the glass and a thin line is drawn between the corresponding ones of opposite sides. The dioptoscope is then moved so that the spot in the centre of the field of vision lies directly over the line and just to the right of the sagittal suture. A pen is introduced beneath the glass and an ink spot placed on the palate so that it lies directly beneath the centre of the field of vision.

#### *Methods*

In principle the method consists of measuring the distances between marked points on the skull with a calibrated travelling microscope, capable of use in both the horizontal and vertical directions. The skull is oriented with the Frankfurt plane horizontal, and the horizontal and vertical movements of the microscope are so arranged as to be parallel and vertical respectively to the same plane. The details are given in the following paragraphs.

*The travelling microscope (Plate Db).* The body tube is attached to a movable platform by means of the screw E; B is a block of steel which it was found necessary to introduce between the two in order to allow the former to project further than in the original design. The platform moves up and down upon the base, which bears the scale, and can be fixed in relation to it by tightening the screw C. With C tightened, further movement can be obtained by means of the fine adjustment F. When measuring vertical distances the instrument is placed as shown, and focused first on one and then on the other of the two points. Since the depth of focus is negligible, the difference (read on the scale) between the two positions of the microscope gives the vertical distance between the two points. For measuring horizontal distances the instrument is placed on its side so that the scale lies uppermost, and the body tube is turned through a right angle by loosening the screw E, and fixed in this position by retightening. The long axis of the body tube now lies at right angles to the axis of movement, and by focusing successive points the horizontal distance between them can be read on the scale. The points must, of course, lie on a line parallel to the line of movement of the instrument.

When in use the microscope stands upon a special support the upper surface of which is covered by a sheet of plate glass and is about 22 centimetres above the bench. The front edge of this is overlapped by a wooden guide against which the base of the microscope is pressed when measuring horizontal distances. The front face of the support is cut away so that the box containing the skull can be pushed under it for a short distance.

*Measurement of height.* The various points having been marked as described above, the skull in its box is placed on the bench and the co-planarity of the cardinal Frankfurt points is checked by means of the independent pointer and any displacement rectified. This is very rarely necessary. The box is then brought up to the face of the support bearing the microscope and placed so that the long axis of the skull lies at right angles to it (Plate Db). Commencing with the alveolar point, the roof and lateral socket points are then brought into successive focus and the readings on the scale noted. From these readings the sagittal and coronal heights opposite the points marked on the roof can be obtained.

*Measurement of length.* The support for the microscope is placed so that the front of its base lies along a straight line marked on the bench. The microscope is then adjusted as described above for measuring horizontal distances, and pressed tightly against the guide. The skull is placed so that the alveolar point and the staphylion lie along a line parallel with the axis of movement of the microscope and within the field of view: they are brought into focus, and the distance between them read off on the scale.

#### *Discussion*

In order to test the accuracy of the method, twenty consecutive measurements of the sagittal height at each point marked on the roof of the palate were carried out on the same skull: after each measurement the skull was removed



from the box, all points erased, then re-marked and the skull re-oriented. The following are the means and the standard deviations of the twenty measurements:

	Mean	S.D.
Height at staphylion . . . . .	15.59 mm.	$\pm 0.16$ mm.
Height at 2nd molars . . . . .	16.3 "	$\pm 0.141$ "
Height at 1st molars . . . . .	15.36 "	$\pm 0.105$ "
Height at 2nd premolars . . . . .	13.08 "	$\pm 0.091$ "

To test the error involved in the orientation of the skull alone, twenty consecutive measurements were taken, the cardinal Frankfurt points being erased and the skull being re-oriented after each measurement. The palatal points once marked remained the same throughout. The standard deviations were as follows:

Height at staphylion . . . . .	$\pm 0.193$ mm.
Height at 2nd molars . . . . .	$\pm 0.16$ "
Height at 1st molars . . . . .	$\pm 0.128$ "
Height at 2nd premolars . . . . .	$\pm 0.097$ "

It will be noted that the standard deviations of the second set of measurements are slightly greater than those of the first, suggesting that some of the sources of error tend to cancel each other out, and also that in both sets the standard deviations become less as the alveolar point is approached.

In general it can be said that measurements taken by means of the travelling microscope are accurate to the nearest 0.5 mm.

As regards the sagittal height, the method above described does not give the maximum height, since this may lie between the marked points. If necessary it could be obtained by moving the microscope back from the alveolar point and finding the point of lowest focus, although this would be a very laborious procedure. It seems likely, however, that for comparative purposes the measurement of the height at similar defined points will prove more useful than the measurement of the maximum height alone. As already indicated, the length and coronal height as measured by this method differ somewhat from those measured by previous methods.

By means of the travelling microscope it is possible to measure both heights of the palate as well as the length at the same time and with the same instrument.

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## COMMUNICATION WITH THE DEAD AS PRACTISED BY THE AMERICAN INDIANS

by

FRANCES DENSMORE

**48** Three Indian tribes have told me that the dead come back and talk with the living. Moreover, they say that the dead sing, and in some instances the rhythmic form of communication seems more favoured than speech. The cadence of the song bridges the chasm between the dead and the living, and through that cadence the spirits tell of their experiences. Such songs have been recorded in connexion with my study of Indian music for the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

On the Arizona desert in sight of the Mexican mountains I talked with Owl Woman, to whom the spirits come singing their songs. Owl Woman belongs to the Papago tribe and has power to heal the sick. She said the spirits came to her for the first time when her husband died and she was prostrated with grief. They showed her a road which only the spirits know, although it is near the Indian village. There is a fork in the road, one branch leading to the spirit land and the other 'going off into nothingness.' All day the spirits stay beside the graves of their bodies, but at night they travel this road back to the

spirit land, where they dance until daybreak or engage in the ordinary activities of home life. They took her to a high place, where she stayed till dawn, and her dead relatives talked with her, coming a few at a time. In the early morning the spirits took her back to her little adobe house. The appearance of the dead was the same as in life, neither older nor younger, and they were happy in the new life.

When her relatives died their spirits came to comfort her, and at last the spirits decided that, after each death, she should be taught a song by the newly released spirit. Sometimes she sees the spirit and receives the song in a few days after a death, and sometimes the spirit waits a year before appearing to her. Owl Woman sings these songs when treating the sick, and she knows so many of them that if she sings from sunset to sunrise each one need only be sung four times. She has taught them to Sivariano Garcia, who sings them while she treats the sick with her mystic owl feathers. Owl Woman let me record her songs phonographically, but requested with dignity that they be sung, as usual, by Garcia. They consulted



regarding the selection of melodies and she often hummed the song softly for him. Each part of the night had its special songs. The spirit of an Indian who was accidentally killed near Tucson gave her one of the first to be sung. The words are:

Brown owls come here in the blue evening,  
They are hooting about,  
They are shaking their wings and hooting.

A majority of the songs deal with the journey of the spirit through the dark, for the spirits always travel at night. An old man died very suddenly and his spirit returned to give this song:

I cannot make out what I see,  
In the dark I enter,  
I cannot make out what I see.

A young man who died about 1912 seems to have travelled confidently, for he sang:

Yonder lies the spirit land,  
Yonder the spirit land I see,  
Farther ahead, in front of me, I see a spirit stand.

There is variety in the songs and a suggestion of the personality of the spirit. Three melodies were somewhat monotonous in style and I remarked this to the interpreter. He replied, 'Those songs were given her by José Gomez. He died two years ago. He was slow and sleepy-headed but he gave her three songs.' The spirits usually give only two. In the following song, given by Gomez, we find a highly poetic expression:

In the great night my heart will go out,  
Toward me the darkness comes rattling,  
In the great night my heart will go out.

The spirit of Francisco Pablo, who died in 1913, gave her these songs:

I am not sure whether I am running west or east  
But I run on and on.  
I find that I am running toward the east.  
A low range of mountains,  
Toward them I am running,  
From the top of these I will see the dawn.

The name of the spirit who gave the following song is known only to Owl Woman herself and Sivariano Garcia:

The morning star is up,  
The morning star is up,  
I cross the mountains into the light of the star.

A strange isolation is around those who come and go among the spirits of the dead. In the Yuma tribe I recorded the songs of a man named Charles Wilson, who knows the spirit land as a place which he often visits. He listens to the talk of the spirits and sees that they understand each

other, but he moves among them as a stranger and cannot understand what they say. The Yuma say that dying people sometimes speak in that strange language, seeming to learn it before the spirit leaves the body. Wilson is a quiet, kindly man, industrious and efficient in his daily life, but he rarely mingles with people and 'stays by himself a great deal.'

The Arapaho Ghost Dance, with its trance and its tragedy, is a matter of history. The dancers fell to the ground exhausted after many hours of fasting and dancing, and in trances they talked with their dead friends and relatives.

Among the Pawnee of Oklahoma several songs connected with the Ghost Dance were heard in visions of the dead. One had these words: 'Yonder, whence I come, our relatives are walking', and another:

There they come yonder,  
They are saying  
'It is good over here, where we are now.'  
There they come.

Another Pawnee song tells of the welcome given to a good man when he reaches the spirit land. The words are:

'Beloved, come, Beloved,'  
All the spirits spoke,  
'Here he comes,  
It is openly known that he did these generous things.'

An incident was related concerning a little girl who died, leaving her father overcome with sorrow. One night he heard a voice calling to him in the woods. Going thither he found his little daughter, who told him that she was happy in the spirit land. My Indian interpreter said, 'After that the father did not cry any more.'

In studying this material, one is impressed with the fact that those Indians who communicate most freely with the dead are those who have passed through extreme suffering. Wilson, the quiet, thoughtful man, saw the spirits of the dead come back to earth, and heard their voices, but could not understand their language. The Ghost Dancers, waking exhausted from their trance, told what the spirits had said to them; but Owl Woman broke through all the barriers, talked with the dead face to face, recognized their features, went with them to the Land of Shades and returned again.

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## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee, Second Report: Bronze Age Metal Objects from Azar- baijan, Part II

49

#### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this note is primarily to publish the analyses of some coppers and bronzes additional to those of which the

descriptions were published in MAN, 1949, 178. With them are printed deductions contributed by Dr. Voce regarding the methods of manufacture. There are still some more objects to be analysed, one of which is very important, since it dates from the time of the beginning of the K Period (c. 3000 B.C.), when people had begun to spread southward into Azarbaijan from Georgia; but this opportunity is being taken to give a brief general survey of



ancient metallurgy from the point of view of possible international contacts, for without an overall picture the series of technical descriptions, though forming a most important part of the excavation results, may be a little confusing. It is characteristic for a table of metallic analyses, for example, to consist largely of minute traces of impurities in the metal, from which it cannot be said that much, if anything, has ever been deduced. But perhaps those traces of impurities are more significant than can yet be appreciated, and it may be useful to examine the matter.

The earliest coppers in several parts of the Near East, though not in Egypt, are of very pure metal, easily distinguishable by that fact from the coppers which were in use a little later than the time of the earliest pieces. In Egypt the objects of markedly pure metal are of First Dynasty date. In Azarbaijan the earliest and very pure pieces are of the M Period, which lasted for a short time at about the beginning of the third millennium. No further pieces of this period have recently been analysed, and the only descriptions available are published in MAN, 1949, 178.

However, there are described in this report two more coppers from the later levels of the K Period. These date from about the middle of the third millennium. They are both of wrought tough-pitch coppers containing no tin, and can be paralleled in their impurities, and in the proportions in which these appear, by the objects with the catalogue numbers 1201 and 1205, which were published in MAN, 1949, 178, and which are of approximately the same period. The impurities give the impression that, while no two objects are very likely to have been made from the same batch of metal, they might all have been made of metal from the same source of ore. One very interesting thing about these coppers is that in one of them (No. 1201) the percentage of arsenic is high, much higher, in fact, than occurs later at Geoy Tepe. As was said in a previous part of this report, some of the pottery of the K Period is similar to the black polished ware of Thermi I, and it is noticeable that the coppers of Thermi III (in which tin in a higher concentration than 0.5 per cent. is very rare) often contained a much higher percentage of arsenic than the later ones. The percentage of arsenic in the late K Period coppers at Geoy Tepe is up to 1.0 per cent. and in Thermi III up to 1.95 per cent. The percentage of nickel in the Thermi objects is very variable, but sometimes appears to be similar to that in the early pieces from Geoy Tepe. Such similarities as these might not mean anything by themselves; but they do not stand alone.

In Volume XX of the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (1933), pp. 43-64, a quantity of ceramic evidence was brought forward to show that 'the main part of the civilizations of the Bronze Age before 2400 B.C. in the Aegean, the west coast of Anatolia, and Cyprus was brought by sea from the eastern end of the Mediterranean' and that there was 'practically no intercourse, during the Bronze Age before 2400 B.C., between Anatolia and the Aegean.' These views were strongly opposed in Germany, but early in 1950 Dr. Lamb, whose knowledge of Anatolian prehistory is outstanding, has declared her belief in travel at that time by sea. Such a sea route as that suggested, a coasting route, no doubt, along the southern Anatolian shore, might well explain how it comes that the same sort of black polished pottery, and copper with impurities similar in kind and quantity, appear at about the same time in lands as far apart as Azarbaijan and the Aegean when, in the intervening land of Anatolia, the pottery at least is completely different. Of early metals in Anatolia it is, unfortunately, not possible to say much, since so few have been analysed and published. Those from Troy I strata appear to contain different impurities in type and quantity from those of Thermi and Azarbaijan. It seems to be in keeping with the hypothesis of such a sea route that the Early Helladic II and III coppers and low-tin bronzes (which contain about 0.8 per cent. of tin) contain

impurities similar in type and proportions to those found at Geoy Tepe at the time of the D Period, when low-tin bronzes came into use there. Some sort of connexion is, or may be, indicated by the parallels quoted above, though so little is at present known that the evidence is insufficient in itself to form the basis of any theory. But there almost certainly must have been a connexion between east and west, for it seems probable, even if it is not yet proved, that copper ore with the impurity of arsenic is not to be found in the Aegean area.

Perhaps a couple of centuries, or more, passed after the end of the K Period at Geoy Tepe before the D Period began, during the latter half of the third millennium. Of this D Period a total of seven pieces of metal have been examined. Two of these have already been published in MAN, 1949, 178, one being an object made of a 10 per cent. tin-content bronze (No. 1212), and the other of copper with an admixture, or impurity, of 0.5 per cent. of tin (No. 1229). The others are described here. Four of them contain 0.5 per cent. of tin, and the fifth 5.0 per cent. of tin. The tin is thus present in very varying quantities in the metal objects of the D Period. It is the opinion of the analyst (Dr. Voce) that the composition of the specimens is so similar in each case that the same source of ore might have been in use, not only for those objects, but also for the earlier ones found in K Period strata. The varying proportions of tin in the D Period objects would in that case, if it could be proved, probably have been added intentionally, since tin is present only in minute quantities in the K Period objects.

Tin bronze appears in the metal pieces found in the 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur, and at Troy, in the mass of material grouped together as 'Troy II-V,' as well as in Troy II, 2, all of which date from the later part of the third millennium. In both Ur and Troy tin bronze appears in very varying quantities, ranging from 0.56 to 20.2 per cent. at Ur, and from 0.59 to 10.62 per cent. at Troy. The impurity of nickel in the bronzes of both those places is in a higher percentage than at Geoy Tepe, while the arsenic content at Troy is also higher than at Geoy Tepe. The figures for arsenic in the bronzes of the 'Royal Cemetery' are unpublished. Isolated examples of a medium or high tin-content bronze are known from Alishar I, Troy I, Thermi I and Tepe Gawra VIII.

But they seem to be exceptional, and tin bronze of 10, or any other percentage of tin does not come into common use until the later part of the third millennium. But a word about the dating of the 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur is necessary, for it has been assigned to extremely different dates without very much explanation of the reasons, with the result that its true place in time has been a little obscured.

The date of the 'Royal Cemetery' is now generally admitted to be much later than was at first proposed; some archaeologists go so far as to give it a precise date of about 2300 B.C. However that may be, it is probably to be placed somewhere near the middle of the third millennium, for, as was stated in MAN, 1950, 4, in the tombs of that cemetery were found vessels with the characteristic 'combed' incised decoration so often found in the wares of the Kish A Period and in the H and G strata at Ashur, both of which have been shown to date from after about 2500 B.C. (T. Burton Brown, *Studies in Third Millennium History*). Further, in the 'Royal Cemetery' polychrome painted pottery of Susa II type appeared, and this also has been shown to date from towards the end of the third millennium. The common appearance of tin bronze in the 'Royal Cemetery' at Ur and in the D Period strata at Geoy Tepe agrees well with the dating of both to approximately the same time, dating which seems to be confirmed by the presence of 'combed' incised decoration in D Period strata, as well as in the preceding level, while polychrome painted wares of Susa II type occur in Geoy Tepe D and C Periods.



The evidence briefly summarized above may be held to indicate that the idea of alloying copper with tin to make tin bronze spread from one general area, and went both south and west during the later part of the third millennium, presumably through the agency of human migrations. It has been pointed out in MAN, 1950, 4, that much the same conclusions regarding human migrations at that time can be drawn from the evidence of iron, and from ceramic evidence. There is, in particular, a quantity of evidence to suggest that, by the time of Troy II, 2 (Schliemann's 'Third, or Burnt City,' in *Ilios*), considerable migrations had brought people to that city, possibly both by sea and by land, from the general area of north-west Persia, so that the appearance then of the alloy known to appear in the later part of the third millennium in Azarbaijan is not unexpected.

The excellently preserved skulls found in tombs of the D Period at Geoy Tepe will, it is hoped, be published with a full report on the excavation of the site. They are of people of the Mediterranean race. A few centuries later a new civilization was brought to Azarbaijan. This is the culture of the B Period, characterized by pottery of plain polished black and red surfaces, made in new shapes. The people of the B Period are also Mediterraneans, but with a possible Armenian admixture; and it is interesting to notice, in this connexion, that some unusual beads of this time are duplicated in Russian Armenia. The date of the B Period is certainly of the second millennium, possibly of about the middle of that epoch. One piece of a 10 per cent. tin-content bronze of that time has already been published in MAN, 1949, 178, and two more are published here. Only bronzes of medium or high tin content are known to occur during the B Period.

Bronzes found in the Mycenae Shaft Graves may be approximately contemporary with the B Period ones, and these have a similar series of percentages of impurities, except for arsenic, which appears in a much higher concentration there than at Geoy Tepe. At Thermi the Late Bronze Age tin bronzes, in which tin occurs in proportions ranging from 2.9 to 16.0 per cent., contain some of the same impurities, in the same proportions, as appear at this time at Geoy Tepe. Not all the impurities appearing at Geoy Tepe have, however, been noted at Thermi. But in Macedonia the bronzes of this time are made of metal with very different impurities from those found in Azarbaijan, Mycenae and Lesbos.

It would certainly be premature to suggest any very definite conclusion as regards the similarities in the presence and proportion of impurities in coppers and bronzes in ancient days, since there is too little material available. But what has been found at Geoy Tepe does seem to suggest that evidence of some importance may be provided eventually, when more analyses are available, since the parallels between early metals at different dates, between Azarbaijan and the Aegean, for example, are sometimes very close, just at those times when direct intercourse is indicated by other evidence. This being so, this opportunity will be taken to compare early metals in Azarbaijan with those which are available from Egypt.

Predynastic coppers from Egypt are less pure than M Period coppers from Geoy Tepe, especially in the comparatively high nickel and arsenic content. On the other hand, the First Dynasty coppers are very pure. They have, commonly, a small amount of zinc, which is very rare at Geoy Tepe at any time. But otherwise the purity in each case is remarkable. In the Old Kingdom coppers contained arsenic in quantities comparable with what is found in K Period coppers, but nickel was either rare or not found in the Egyptian coppers. At Geoy Tepe nickel in the K Period coppers appears as tiny traces only. It is of interest to see that antimony occurs as traces in the Old Kingdom coppers and in an Old Kingdom bronze; antimony is constantly present as traces at Geoy Tepe throughout the Bronze Age.

Apart from occasional traces, tin is not common in the coppers of Egypt before the time of the Sixth Dynasty. For the period between the Sixth and Twelfth Dynasties, bronzes with percentages ranging from 0.5 to 16.3 of tin seem to be fairly common, though as so few analyses are available it may be safer to say that they only become common at the end of that period. At the same time lead becomes more common as an impurity and appears in higher proportions than before. Arsenic also appears, sometimes in very high proportions, in the Egyptian bronzes at this time, while nickel is still very rare. There are differences here between Geoy Tepe, at the time of the D Period, and Egypt, despite the presence in both of bronzes with tin percentages ranging from very high to very low. However, the stratum of Tepe Gawra VI (which contained pots and 'combed' incised decoration of types known in the Geoy Tepe D Period deposits) yielded a copper with no nickel and 1.59 per cent. of arsenic. A similar proportion of arsenic, and no recorded nickel, was present in a Second Intermediate Period axehead from Mostagedda.

It may prove to be important that similarities in the types and proportions of the impurities of the copper and bronze objects of the Near East seem, generally speaking, to characterize periods, irrespective of space, especially in the earlier part of the Bronze Age. Perhaps such similarities can be thought to mean that metal objects found over wide areas had been made from the ores of a limited zone. Other evidence suggests the same conclusion: that there were frequent and wide-spreading migrations of varying types of peoples in the Near East. This matter will, it is hoped, be more elaborately discussed in the report on the Geoy Tepe excavation, in which also the pieces described will be illustrated.

T. BURTON BROWN

#### Note

There is no space here to reproduce the tables of analyses of copper and bronze objects from various Near Eastern lands. All the most important ones are to be found in the following books: Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*; Mallowan, in *Iraq*, IX; Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi on Lesbos*; Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia*; Schmidt, *Schliemann Sammlung*; Schliemann, *Ilios*; Mycenae; Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*; Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*; Brunton, *Mostagedda*; the *Year Book of the British Association for 1928 and 1929*; Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens 1500-700*.

#### REPORT ON SAMPLES OF COPPER AND BRONZE FROM GEOY TEPE

##### *Analyses and Descriptions*

No. 1203; *Ring* (Mount No. 56). This is a wrought and annealed tough-pitch copper and is similar in structure to specimen No. 1201, which was found at the same level, though the composition was sufficiently different to indicate that the material was from another source of supply. In particular the tin content of No. 1203 was considerably lower than that of No. 1201. The well distributed, spheroidized appearance of the cuprous oxide suggests a preliminary hot-forging operation, while the moderate quantity of the cuprous oxide indicates that the casting process was under good control and that excess air was not admitted to the melt. It seems possible that the molten metal was allowed to collect in a pool beneath a charcoal fire, and to solidify there as the fire died down. The solidified metal may have been hot-forged into the rough shape of a rod, to break up the interdendritic copper—cuprous-oxide eutectic, and afterwards fabricated into a ring by alternate cold working and annealing. The final process was an anneal.

Considerable corrosion had taken place, with the formation of a fairly thick layer of cuprous oxide, with green salts outside



it. Corrosion was penetrative, resulting in large islands of cuprous oxide elongated in the direction of working. In many cases the cuprous oxide had disappeared, leaving large elongated voids. Penetration appeared to have progressed primarily through the grain boundaries, which had been preferentially attacked.

No. 1204: *Pin* (Mount No. 57). The specimen was severely corroded, but appears to be of annealed tough-pitch copper similar to Nos. 1201 and 1203, and was probably made by the same sequence of operations. The transverse micro-section was suffering from active 'bronze disease,' and a crop of bright green crystals formed upon it after storage for about 10 weeks. This indicates the presence of chlorides in the environment in which it had been buried.

No. 1213 (or 1214): *Eyelet Pin* (Mount No. 58). The analysis shows the material to be copper containing about 0.5 per cent. of tin, with minor amounts of antimony and lead. The relatively

performed hot in the early stages, and later cold with intermediate annealing. Hot working in the early stages is diagnosed from the fact that the slag inclusions were smoothly elongated and not shattered into angular fragments. This suggests that they were in a plastic condition, presumably hot, while the main forging operations were being performed.

The eyelet was apparently made by piercing and the head by a forging operation, though corrosion in these regions was sufficiently severe to mask much of the evidence. The final process seems to have been an anneal. This suggests that the craftsmen who made the pin were unaware of the hardening and strengthening effects of cold work.

The micro-specimen after storage for 10 weeks showed indications of active 'bronze disease' in the region of the head of the pin. It would therefore appear that chlorides were present in the corrosive environment.

ANALYSES OF BRONZE OBJECTS FROM GEOY TEPE

Specimen No.	1203	1204	1213	1227	1228	1277	1226	1290	1288
Description	Ring	Racquet Pin	Eyelet Pin	Eyelet Pin	Pin	Needle	Bangle	Eyelet Pin	Bead
Percentage of—									
Tin .. .. .	0.03	0.0005	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	5.0	5.0	5.0
Antimony .. .. .	0.2	n.d.	0.1	0.01	0.1	0.05	0.2	0.005	0.1
Arsenic .. .. .	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Bismuth .. .. .	0.0005	0.0005	0.0006	0.002	0.002	0.005	0.002	0.002	0.0005
Cobalt .. .. .	0.0001	n.d.	0.001	0.03	0.007	0.007	0.05	0.03	0.007
Iron .. .. .	0.5	0.001	0.01	0.5	0.5	0.05	0.05	0.5	0.01
Lead .. .. .	0.5	0.003	0.1	0.05	0.1	0.05	0.2	0.1	1.0
Phosphorus .. .. .	Small quantity	Trace	Trace	Trace	Slight trace	Trace	Present	Small quantity	Slight trace
Silicon .. .. .	0.5	0.03	0.5	0.03	0.5	0.5	0.03	0.1	0.03
Manganese .. .. .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Nickel .. .. .	0.005	0.0006	0.03	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.003	0.2	0.05
Silver .. .. .	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.005	0.01	0.01
Zinc .. .. .	n.d.	n.d.	0.002	n.d.	n.d.	0.001	n.d.	0.005	n.d.
Tellurium .. .. .	Trace	n.d.	n.d.	0.005	Trace	Trace	n.d.	Trace	Trace
Aluminium .. .. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Magnesium .. .. .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Metallographic Mount No.	56	57	58	60	61	62	59	64	63

The dates of the above objects are as follows:

Nos. 1203 and 1204 are of the later part of the K Period, probably of about 2500 B.C.

Nos. 1213, 1227, 1228, 1277, 1226 are all of the D Period, and can be dated to about 2400–2000 B.C.

No. 1290 and 1288 are of the B Period, and can be dated to about the middle of the second millennium.

high concentration of silicon is probably attributable to silicious material picked up from extraneous sources due to burial and corrosion.

The specimen was severely corroded and little metal remained for examination. It had, however, a wrought and annealed structure. Corrosion had penetrated *via* the grain boundaries, which had been transformed into a broad network apparently consisting mainly of cuprous oxide. The main corrosion product was coherent cuprous oxide in which the crystal structure of the original metal could still be discerned.

Elongated inclusions were prevalent both in the unchanged metal and in the cuprous-oxide matrix of the corroded parts. These seemed to be in the nature of slag, for they did not show the characteristic ruby colour of cuprous oxide under oblique illumination. Their elongated shape indicates that the metal had been much extended, presumably by forging, in the direction of the length of the pin. It is probable that such forging was

No. 1226: *Bangle* (Mount No. 59). Like Nos. 1201 and 1213 this is a bronze, though it contained about 5 per cent. of tin. It had a similar wrought and annealed structure, with striated inclusions which appear to be slag. These were smoothly elongated, not shattered, suggesting a hot-working operation, at any rate in the early stages. Penetrative corrosion along the grain boundaries had taken place. The grain size was moderate and uniform, and the article had been annealed after fabrication.

No. 1227: *Eyelet Pin* (Mount No. 60). This is another low-tin bronze with the typical striated inclusions which appear to be slag, and which suggest a hot-working process. The mushroom head of the pin had been formed by a forging ('upsetting') operation, probably cold with possibly intermediate and certainly subsequent annealing. The eyelet was apparently pierced, though it is not easy to understand exactly how this was effected or what tool was used.

Though penetrative corrosion had occurred *via* the grain



boundaries, the attack was less severe than that on several other specimens.

No. 1228: *Pin* (Mount No. 61). The composition and structure are similar to those of the other wrought and annealed low-tin bronzes. The corrosive environment seemed, however, to be somewhat different; for the attack, though severe, showed rather less tendency to penetrate the grain boundaries.

In the exact centre of the transverse section examined was a circular patch of unsoundness, and central unsoundness was also visible in the longitudinal section. This suggests that a circular stick of metal had been cast vertically and that a central 'pipe' had formed in it because of inadequate feeding. The stock of metal had afterwards been forged so as greatly to increase the length, as evidenced by the much elongated character of the inclusions. The smoothness of the inclusions suggests that this forging operation was conducted hot.

No. 1277: *Needle* (Mount No. 62). This is the same in structure and composition as the other low-tin bronzes. The eye appears to have been pierced, though evidence to this effect is not very clear. There was a tendency to central unsoundness, suggesting that a vertically cast bar was prepared, hot-forged and finally annealed.

No. 1288: *Bead* (Mount No. 63). This is a cast bronze containing about 5 per cent. of tin, and showing uniform distribution of small isolated particles of the  $\alpha + \delta$  eutectoid in a cored matrix of  $\alpha$ . Most of the eutectoid pools enclose globules which may be

slag or lead. Here and there crystals of stannic oxide were found, indicating inadequate deoxidation. Cracks radiated from the central hole, perhaps due to hot tears arising from the use of too rigid a core. As would be expected from this diagnosis, the cracks were lined with cuprous oxide, but this may have been formed as a result of subsequent corrosion.

In the outer regions of the bead the cored dendritic pattern of the cast structure was replaced by fine, twinned, equiaxial grains, showing that the specimen had been heated externally. Near the outer surface the temperature had been sufficient to absorb the eutectoid into solid solution, but further towards the interior recrystallization had occurred without homogenization, while beyond this region the cast structure remained unchanged. It is possible that the bead was shaped by hammering or grinding from a cast rod with a central hole and that a brief anneal was afterwards applied. It is curious, however, that the heat of the fire had not affected the parts adjacent to the central hole.

Corrosion had penetrated along the grain boundaries, and was more severe on the outer surfaces of the specimen than at the inner hole.

No. 1290-1297: *Stout Eyelet Pin* (Mount No. 64). This appears to be another typical low-tin bronze with annealed structure and stringers of slaggy inclusions. The spectrographic analysis, however, records a tin content comparable with that of the bangle. Inter-crystalline corrosion had been very severe. E. VOCE

## SHORTER NOTES

### Defence Services Research Facilities Committee of the Royal Society

**50** In many fields of scientific work the Defence Services possess equipment, knowledge and personnel which might be used to help scientific research unconnected with any service objective. The Defence Services Research Facilities Committee was set up by the Royal Society in 1948 to consider requests for such assistance and to enlist the help of the Service departments concerned. Five panels were established, to consider applications in the following fields: submarine gravity measurements; surplus explosives; magnetic survey; aerial photography; scientific expeditions. The Defence Services have been most co-operative, and help of many kinds has already been given. Proposals for consideration by the committee should be submitted to the Assistant Secretary of the Royal Society, Burlington House, London, W.1.

### Anthropological Research in Asia: American Recommendations

**51** A number of recommendations for research projects have been made by the Committee on Asian Anthropology of the National Research Council, Washington, D.C., in a document recently communicated to the Institute. The following is a summary of its suggestions.

#### Field Problems

The following series of problems has been formulated to assist institutions and scholars in planning research in the Asiatic area. Those dealing with technology, physical anthropology and archaeology have been omitted as being basic to all anthropological work. The problems have been broadly conceived to facilitate the participation of related disciplines. It is recognized that the investigation of some of them would require resources in personnel and finance which will not be generally available.

*Community studies*: should be directed to both urban and rural communities and the interplay between them, and undertaken

by teams of specialists in the different studies concerned. Knowledge of the local language will be important. The principal object would be to identify the major cultural forces in the community. A good deal has been done in India and China, and for these areas appraisal of what has been achieved should have priority over new projects.

*Changing aspects of national structure*: the study of social change and the appearance of new social groups, whether of economic or ethnic origin; urbanization; the absorption of minorities; changes in the traditional role of labour; the rise of new bureaucratic, intellectual or other groups.

*Population movements*: changes in the size or location of population may be the key to other cultural changes, and should be studied from all aspects, including the economic. There are many problems caused by the war.

*Land utilization*: changes in patterns of ownership and land value; problems caused by the introduction of money and the demands of a world market.

*Influence of the central government on rural life*: closely connected with development of national self-consciousness, and important for the success of many programmes of national unification and economic planning.

*Personality structure (norms)*: of basic importance in estimating the direction of social change.

*Value system*: systems of values, whether consciously or unconsciously held, are active social forces. Any comparative analysis of religion, philosophy, or ethics may be important.

#### Library Studies

Much might be done to systematize the literature, and cross-cultural survey files might be started. Further field research may be necessary for the solution of some of the following problems.

*Distribution studies*: adequate data on the geographical occurrence of cultural features are lacking; the sub-cultures of India, for instance, have never been delimited. Sources of friction between ethnic groups may be uncovered.

*Social implications of language changes*: these are particularly marked in China and Indochina; India and Pakistan also have language problems.



*Translations:* many source materials, especially those in oriental languages, should be made available in English; such works should, however, be carefully selected.

*Concordances and abstracts:* annotated guides to foreign-language literature; abstracts of books and articles appearing in Asiatic countries.

*Encyclopædia and handbooks:* national encyclopædias should be undertaken by boards of competent scholars. Handbooks should only be prepared to fill gaps in the published resources.

The complete text of this communication may be seen at the Institute.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**The History and Social Influence of the Potato.** By R. N. Salaman, M.D., F.R.S. C.U.P., 1949. Pp. 685, 32 plates, 17 text figures, 9 diagrams, maps. Price 50s.

52 The author agrees with Tello that the early inhabitants of the Peruvian Andes came from the south-east, where Mangelsdorf and Reeves have recently located the original home of maize; and he thinks it was the potato which made life in the high Andes possible, the llama tribe giving him domestic animals for wool and the carrying of burdens. Life on these heights with bitter nights, driving rain and shortage of oxygen, on soils too often poisoned by borax, bred a society that tended to maintain and even increase the grim fears it had suffered in the jungles of Gran Chaco before its westward migration. The proto-Chimu pottery, recently dated about 1000 A.D., has designs using maize and potato, varied with terrors of puma and jaguar and many other features. The potato, with many knobs, may be shown as a group of human heads, with or without mutilation. Salaman suggests that ceremonial mutilation and sacrifice accompanied appeals to the potato spirit and that the mutilations were intended to give representations of desirable features on the potato; mutilation was nearly always practised on males. Specially decked comcobs and potato tubers were adorned as women and worshipped until recently, but the Virgin Mary has not here been deemed a good fertility emblem.

Relatives of the potato grow on the arid west coast of S. America, but they are of no use to man. It is not until one reaches a height of some 6,000 feet that one finds a useful potato, and the llama carried the dried tubers (*chuño*) in old days to the lowlands and the coast. Castellanos in 1537, during the raid up the Colombian Magdalena to what became highland Bogota, seems to have been the first European to see the potato; Cieza de Leon saw it at Popayan (lat. 2° N.) in 1538.

Russian investigators, under the eminent Vavilov, have demonstrated the existence of many varieties of potato in S. America with chromosome formulae  $2n=24$  (probably the chief original form) or 36, or 48, or 60, or 72. The great majority are breeds of *Solanum andigenum* ( $2n=48$ ), and they seem to have developed largely through human selection of plants that were frost-resisting and gave a good crop, or specially good white flour (*ninta*) when suitably treated. The Russians paid special attention to the potato in Chiloe Island (S. Chile) and thought it was the parent of the varieties brought to Europe. Salaman argues against this view and thinks it more probable that our potato came from the Colombian highland to Spain about 1568 or 1569. The legend of its being brought from Virginia by British pioneers obstructed the growth of knowledge for a long time, from the appearance of Gerard's *Herbal* (1596) onwards. Clusius (1601) gave a better description and knew that the Peru-Bolivia highland was the primary home of the potato. Salaman shows that it was a variety or varieties bearing best under conditions of a long summer day that succeeded in Europe, and in this volume he treats of the story of the potato in Ireland, the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland, Wales, England north-west of the Coal Line, south-east England and the Cornish peninsula, with short notes on Jersey, St. Helena and Tristan d'Acunha. Over 150 pages are devoted to a review of the social and economic history of Ireland since the potato came. It found a clannish society in process of disintegration accompanying, perhaps even preceding, conquest by the English. The misgovernment of the latter is steadily condemned by our author, who sees the potato used as an instrument

favouring rack-renting by absentee landlords alien to the Irish in speech and religion as well as in social tradition. The potato cultivated on the open hill lands gave a poor living to unfortunate Irish turned out of their homes by confiscation or by seizure for debt due to extortion of many kinds practised by the Ascendancy and, later on, supported by evil laws repressing Irish industry. Frequent failures of the crop, and most notably the potato famine of 1845-1846, demonstrated the dangers of too great dependence on it. If abundant milk is available the potato added to it makes a good diet. Is this one reason why cheese plays such a small part in Ireland? Salaman's main thesis here is that the potato forced upon the people as their lifeline was a depressor, a calamity to the Irish. He is no doubt largely right, as he is in his account of the landlords, but he leaves almost untouched two questions that are relevant. Did the potato diet contain much vitamin except C unless it included milk or meat or both? Was the ecclesiastical tradition of the Irish a discourager of initiative? Whatever may be said on these topics the potato has added to, as well as helped in, Irish distress.

In the Highlands of Scotland it was not the direct action of conquerors that imposed the potato on the people. After 1745 chieftains lost much of their sovereignty and with it the need of good fighting comrades. They were made into landlords who soon found it more profitable to graze the old arable of the glens. The clansmen were evicted. Some emigrated overseas, some squatted on the coastal commons and sought a living from potatoes and fish. Their poverty was dire but not quite so complete in its repression of initiative as was that of many parts of Ireland. Agricultural development after 1745 in south Scotland gave opportunities in arable farming, turnips as well as potatoes, and here as well as in Wales and north-west England the sequel to the introduction of the potato was less disastrous at first. In parts of Scotland it had to overcome prejudice due to the fact that it is not mentioned in the Scriptures, and there as well as in England the right of stubble pasture by the village cattle after harvest hindered the spread of the new crop. Enclosures, advocated especially by Arthur Young, were carried out with rancorous class hostility by landlords and *nouveaux riches*, workers lost much of their meat and milk and held on to the partly wheaten loaf as their one insurance against falling into Irish misery, but the efforts of the rich to feed them on potatoes were only too successful, in spite of Young's efforts to promote a fairer state of society. The potato as an accessory, cleaning the land and giving an abundant crop, can be invaluable. Propagation by 'eyes' and pieces of tuber for many years (Lysenko's practices are old-established in the west) has led various breeds to give way to disease so that they need to be replaced from time to time. An approach to complete dependence on the potato, which needs so little labour and can yield so much, is a grave social danger unless alternative attractive and remunerative outlets for initiative are found and encouraged. A companion book by Dr. Salaman on the potato in Europe will be welcomed; he has devoted many years to experiments in breeding plants to resist disease, and his wide reading in many fields has contributed to the interest of his book. A hasty reader may think he over-emphasizes the potato's influence; more study will show that, while he gives the general economic history of various regions, he aims only at showing that the potato has played a part, and by no means always a helpful one, in the long run.

H. J. FLEURE



**War, Crime and the Covenant.** By Géza Róheim. Monticello, N.Y. (Medical Journal Press), 1945. Pp. v, 160

**53** That the child is father of the man is true enough, but it is not so easy to see that the infant is the parent of all society. Yet, if the main concepts of psycho-analysis are accepted, it would be difficult to disprove any of Róheim's arguments from which his thesis is worked up with much detail and erudition. Most of the examples with which he illustrates his theme are taken from his original fieldwork in Australia and Normanby Island.

The general Freudian principles that must be accepted are those of projection and introjection and the formation of the Super-ego. The Oedipus complex, displacement and symbolism all have their parts to play. In the first suck of the infant at the breast Róheim sees the basis of love and aggression. This is the dual unity of mother and child; this unity, in which separation is also innate, is the basis of society, containing both Eros and Thanatos. The mother image has two faces, the good mother who gives milk and the bad mother who causes frustration. From introjection of the good mother and the social fiction that all members of a group are identical, harmony within the group arises, and the aggression against the bad mother is projected beyond the frontier. However, libido and aggression are closely allied, because as the infant sucks at the nipple and is content, he also bites, and has fantasies of devouring and destroying the mother's body. So libido follows aggression and the enemy out-group becomes the intermarrying exogamous group. Crime is failure to identify with the group; the aggression has not been successfully projected, just as neurosis is aggression turned against the self. War is aggression projected outside the group. The child and society are both always striving to regain the original dual unity by covenants—eating together or drawing blood (blood being a symbol for milk) or in exchanges of goods and food.

With the introjection of both parents and the formation of the Super-ego the repressed Oedipus wishes turn aggression inwards. In mourning for the dead the bereaved really atone for their hostility towards the dead, hence ceremonial self-wounding. When mourning is over, aggression is projected outwards, and a mourning period may be terminated by a head-hunting expedition.

The principle of reciprocity is very important in primitive society. The acceptance of good things puts the receiver under an obligation that must be paid back, and if the return gift is greater than the original gift, the exchange may go on indefinitely. The same is true of feuds, they must go on till the balance of deaths is equal; but the function of retaliation is not to prevent further inroads on the group but to relieve the group feeling. The Super-ego turns against the ego in both victory and defeat. If the individual who has suffered does not retaliate, the Super-ego will cause melancholia, so if a group is unavenged it becomes helpless as a child, castrated. In war, crime and economic relations, retaliation is necessary to appease the Super-ego and regain balance.

Thus the explanation is complete, but what understanding can be derived from it? If the dual-unity balance is the key to social relations, it should be true of all mammals, not only of man; further, if the first break of the unity, as Róheim points out, is the

act of birth, then it is not only in mammals but in all viviparous animals that the principle should work.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

**Prehistoric Men.** By Robert J. Braidwood, with drawings by Susan T. Richer. Chicago Natural History Museum, Popular Series, Anthropology, No. 37, 1948. Pp. 117

**54** The author, an associate professor at the University of Chicago, has tried to summarize what is known of prehistoric man for the benefit of the intelligent layman. On the whole he has been very successful. We learn, however, with some surprise, that civilization in India grew up quite independently of Iran and Iraq, and when told that we know (*sic*) that the New World ancestors of the American Indians discovered food-production for themselves, we may wonder how we can know this.

RAGLAN

**The Missionary and Primitive Man.** By Gordon Hedderley Smith. Chicago. (Van Kampen Press), 1947. Pp. 216. Price \$2.50

**55** The author, for many years a missionary in Indo-China, has read a great deal of anthropology; some of it, he says, he has 'literally waded through.' He has written this book because he thinks that all missionaries should have some knowledge of primitive beliefs.

He begins by showing that the belief of Spencer and other earlier anthropologists that the savage is intermediate between civilized man and the ape is now exploded, and regards this as a refutation of the theory of evolution and a vindication of the Genesis account of creation. He goes on to discuss theories of religious origins, deciding in favour of P. W. Schmidt. After dismissing Islam and Hinduism in a few contemptuous sentences, he gives a long summary of the principal features of 'primitive' religion. This is very readable, and in general accurate and sympathetic. He ends with a discussion on what should be the attitude of missionaries to the beliefs of those whom they hope to convert.

Like many other writers, he tends to assume a greater uniformity of savage belief than really exists, but a perusal of the book will certainly profit those for whom it is intended.

RAGLAN

**The Yale Collections.** By Wilmarth S. Lewis. Yale Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1946. Pp. xv, 54, 13 plates. English price, 11s. 6d.

**56** The most interesting part of this book for readers of MAN will be the history of the Yale Anthropology Museum; though this is perhaps a misnomer, as the collections have no home of their own and are accommodated partly in the Peabody Museum and partly in other buildings of the University. The fine American Indian section owes much to the encouragement by Professors Silliman and Marsh, in the nineteenth century, of the collection of objects from the disappearing Indian cultures. There are fine archaeological and ethnographical collections from other regions.

The author gives similar accounts of the Library, the Art Gallery and the Peabody Museum.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

## EUROPE

**The Lapps.** By Bjorn Collinder. Princeton Univ. Press, for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1949. Pp. 252, 25 plates, 2 maps, bibliog. Price \$3.75

**57** As Professor Collinder points out, this is in fact the first broad survey of Lappish culture published in English since the English edition of Johannes Schefferus' *Laponia* in 1674. This curious phenomenon, which is not very flattering to Scandinavian anthropology, makes the appearance of this work doubly significant. For the first time the English-speaking world will be admitted to the secrets of Lappish culture as evaluated by anthropological research. From personal experience I know that American anthropologists have long felt the need for a survey of this kind.

Professor Collinder is a linguist and philologist. In the course of thirty trips undertaken to Lapland to carry out fieldwork he has acquired a very complete and intimate knowledge of Lappish culture

and of the literature available in this sphere of research. The 188 titles quoted in the bibliography give only a slight indication of the fields of research that have actually been covered. The book is a veritable mine of information, and while certain criticisms may be made, this does not alter the fact that Professor Collinder has made an exceedingly valuable contribution to the ethnography of the Lapps.

In a book of this nature it is inevitable that some chapters should make a greater appeal than others. This is true especially of the brilliant chapter dealing with the language, where the author is in his real element, writing in masterly fashion of a subject on which he is the acknowledged authority. The chapter is original and extremely well written, with a new theory on the relations between Lappish and the other Finno-Ugrian languages, and their derivation from a common Uralic language. The author likewise reveals a profound knowledge of religious and magic feelings and rituals, reducing the



Scandinavian influences to a mere ripple on the surface and laying bare the basic character of Lappish religion and worship. He has two vivid and fascinating chapters dealing with shamanism and ecstasy, as well as the bear cult and special Lappish conceptions of taboo, etc. One misses, however, an analysis of Læstadianism and the measure of adaptability to radically different religious forms which even a religion generally as intolerant as Lutheranism has shown in this case. As a religious, and consequently also a social, phenomenon Læstadianism is so interesting, and has exercised such an immense influence, that it deserves a fuller treatment. The omission is apparently due to the author's view of cultural anthropology as a whole, deeply rooted in Scandinavian traditional scholarship as it is. Scandinavian anthropology has not yet fully grasped the values of the study of acculturation processes. This lack of orientation in modern problematics is also noticeable in other aspects of Collinder's book. In the excellent survey of reindeer nomadism he has thus failed to appreciate the most interesting change in the forms of reindeer-breeding which has taken place during the last few decades. Under the pressure of the economic system of industrialism it is assuming far more extensive forms, and automobiles, aircraft and even wireless are being utilized. But the idea of extensive breeding is mainly borrowed from the reindeer nomadism of Finnmark. In other words, under the pressure of industrial economy and partly with the help of industrial technique the Lapps have developed a new but entirely Lappish type of economic culture.

Otherwise the book gives a very exhaustive and illuminating account of reindeer-breeding, domesticating, wanderings, herding, milking, etc. It is, however, curious to observe that the author still maintains the old theory of the origin of reindeer nomadism chiefly maintained by another great linguist, the late Professor Wiklund, viz. that reindeer-breeding originated independently in Fennoscandia, with no connexions whatsoever with the reindeer nomadism of Northern Asia. As a matter of fact this theory had already become obsolete when it was revived by Wiklund some forty years ago.

My final objections to Collinder's book are that Lappish culture has been treated as if it were a homogeneous culture, without taking into consideration the considerable differences which exist between the culture of the Sea Lapps, the Woodland Lapps, the River Lapps and the Mountain Lapps; and furthermore that the account of the social and political organization of the Lapps is far too incomplete. The *sii'da* (the local social group) which is in fact of prime importance has not even been mentioned.

While a full treatment of the many aspects of Lappish culture would demand far more space than is covered by this book, it will undoubtedly prove most useful, and English-speaking anthropologists should welcome this survey. GUTORM GJESSING

**Suomen Lappalaiset.** By T. I. Itkonen. Helsinki (Söderström), 1948. 2 vols. Pp. 589, 629.

**58** There are in northern Europe about 31,000 Lapps, of whom about 2,300 live in Finland. It is the anthropology, history and mythology of these latter that Dr. Itkonen describes in his great work. He is the foremost expert on the Finnish Lapps; ever since his first scientific essay (on the birch-bark technique, 1916), he has steadily extended his knowledge to larger fields of the history and life of these interesting people, and has studied their way of life, their games, their treatment of the sick, their writings, old sagas and customs. This book is the result of his lifelong research work.

This is the first complete synthesis of our knowledge of the Finnish Lapps. Although the literature of the subject includes such important works as Jacob and Isak Fellman's *Anteckningar* (Notes), the popular scientific books of the great wanderer S. Paulaharju and the sterling work of Professor Väinö Tanner on the Skolts, Dr. Itkonen's work provides the comprehensive survey that has hitherto been lacking. It should therefore be very welcome not only to Finnish Lapp investigators but to anthropologists and other researchers abroad who are interested in peoples of the northern woods and the tundra. It is a pity, as it is published in Finnish, that there is no résumé in any other language; its usefulness is thereby somewhat restricted.

The first part of the book, besides treating of the natural

conditions under which they live, recounts the general history of the Lapps and describes their settled areas, physical anthropology, language, occupations, tools, personal property, clothing, ornamental art, fishing, etc. The second part deals with hunting and reindeer-keeping, agriculture and cattle-rearing, sociology and mythology, customs and games, units of measure, naming system, sagas, poetry, etc. Dr. Itkonen concludes with a survey of the origin of Lapp cultures, and the impulses it has received from very different sources in the course of the centuries. Originally sub-arctic, it has been affected in turn by the Finno-Ugrian, the Finno-Karelian, Scandinavian, Russian and even Zyrian cultures. Because of its geographical position between the different 'Lapp-marks' this group of Finnish Lapps, in spite of its small numbers, is of rather special interest to research workers. This fact stands out clearly in Dr. Itkonen's book. The maps are a useful adjunct, though they could with advantage be more distinct.

Though the very completeness at which the author has aimed in this synthesis makes it a little difficult to apprehend the whole, grateful thanks are due to Dr. Itkonen for his monumental work in which he gives us the fruit of many years of patient and detailed research. Let us hope that before very long an abbreviated edition in English will be available for the larger public who could derive so much benefit and pleasure from it.

I. HUSTICH

**Post-War Germans: An Anthropologist's Account.** By David Rodnick. New Haven, Yale Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. Pp. 233. Price \$2.75.

**59** This book 'is based on five months of intensive anthropological field work' carried on by the author and his wife in the first half of 1946. Two features stand out from this interesting survey. The first is the extreme rigidity of the German social system, even now. The numerous classes are fixed by heredity, and there is little intercourse between them. The lower classes may resent their inferiority and the rudeness of their superiors but they do not encourage their children to better their position, and any who do so are apt to become strangers to their families. The second is the German attitude towards children. They are both petted and dominated by their parents: encouraged to behave nicely but discouraged from thinking or acting for themselves. Children do not wish to grow up, and adults look back to childhood as a time of happiness and security. There are also chapters on politics, sex, etc., and the verbatim opinions of a number of Germans on the future of Germany.

RAGLAN

**Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean.** By George Thompson. London (Laurence and Wishart), 1949. Pp. 622, with map and text figures. Price 42s.

**60** One of the benefits of current publishing economies is that one can pack more than formerly into a handy volume. Here we have treatises on early kinship, reputed survivals of totemism, matriarchy and the like in Greek society, the Greek dialects, the Homeric Age and Epic, with more detailed studies of early land tenure, Greek goddesses, and early Greek institutions. The common interest of all these is early Greek society, and the abrupt close hints that there is much more to come.

As in his recent *Aeschylus and Athens*, but on a more ample scale, Professor Thompson sets himself 'to interpret the legacy of Greece in the light of Marxism.' It is therefore surprising and rather disappointing that so little change results. There are occasional jibes at 'bourgeois' specialists (p. 57) and ethnologists (pp. 36, 85f.); hints at the need for 'scientific method' (pp. 228, 302) and at 'Soviet research'—though the Russian writer most quoted, Radlow, published in 1884, and there are only half a dozen Russian titles in a bibliography of 16 pages; and allusions to 'classless' societies and the 'class-struggle.' The reason why 'bourgeois thinkers have realized that Morgan must be resisted all along the line' is that 'the family as well as God goes hand in hand with private property' (p. 85). The opposition to Darwin eventually collapsed because his theory was indispensable for industrial development (p. 86). Iron 'was not a class monopoly'; Cornford was a 'bold and clear-sighted materialist'; Thucydides a 'materialist historian of the first water'; and on archaeologists generally 'a materialist attitude was forced by



the nature of their subject.' There is also a list of 'progressive' writers from Adam Smith to Tylor; and Briffault 'became a Marxist' and is much quoted, like Morgan, whom Marx and Engels had read. Frazer seems to have become more bourgeois (p. 123).

Apparently it is an important (though unconfessed) advance in historical method that Homeric and later testimony are used indifferently. But this was a principal criticism against Ridgway's *Early Age of Greece* nearly fifty years ago, a brilliant attempt to combine linguistics and ethnology with archaeology in the way commended here. It was then thought rather old-fashioned, but Professor Thompson thinks that classical studies have been going from bad to worse.

We should be the more grateful to him, therefore, for so learned and vigorous a restatement of the evidence, archaeological, linguistic and ethnological, for the long prehistory of the Greek people. It will be by this, rather than 'in the light of Marxism' that he may hope to 'rescue from the Mandarins' our Hellenic heritage. It is odd that he has been 'mindful . . . that while I am writing this book, the Greeks have been fighting for liberty with a heroism unequalled in their history': is this struggle also 'in the light of Marxism,' or another legacy from the older humanism?

As Professor Thompson says (p. 505) that he is 'not an archaeologist,' he may welcome a few notes on matters of fact: fig. 84, the 'Warrior Vase' is from Mycenae, not Tiryns; fig. 65 represents grinding, not baking; fig. 75 is not a rhapsode, for he holds a lyre; p. 19, if Mycenae had a monopoly of bronze, what was the 'similar' position of Tiryns, Thebes and Troy? p. 29, what is the evidence that horse and chariot were introduced by the Mycenaeans and that the safety pin and short tunic came from the north? The views of Professor Wace (p. 374) on Mycenae and Tiryns have been contested by Evans and others. On a later matter, are clerical robes derived from women's dress (p. 486)? They usually open down the front, and seldom have a waistband. If the musician on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (fig. 73) is in woman's dress, so are almost all the Minoan charioteers. The musician, though he has long hair like the women, is painted brown.

The interesting section on 'Communism' deals mainly with property in land and the formation of cities. In this context 'the superiority of the Achaeans' is an unexpected heading; these 'bold pioneers of private property' (p. 430) initiated the 'class struggle'; but it was their 'dynamic vitality' that created the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and out of the 'class struggle' came Greek culture. This simplifies overmuch, but the matter has been already discussed at length in *Aeschylus and Athens*, and will presumably reappear in subsequent volumes; for this one ends abruptly with the Epic.

Here Professor Thompson uses his knowledge of Irish and Russian folk literature to illustrate his reconstruction of early Greek poetry, against the background, already noted, of invasions and migrations. He stresses the resemblances between Arcadian, Cypriot and Aeolic dialects, as representing collectively the speech of the southern Achaeans, on a foundation of older Ionic, while Boeotian and Thessalian represent the northern Achaeans. In *Who were the Greeks* the present reviewer (unaware of the implications of Marxism) showed that a similar view, derived mainly from C. D. Buck, is supported archaeologically and by the language of the Epic. Here there is contributed an ingenious but incomplete discussion of the funerary rituals, and an analysis of the legendary figure of Helen, from ritual survivals. Professor Thompson sees no difficulty in Epic descriptions of Minoan works of art from the fifteenth century B.C., or in allusions (p. 502) to customs and fashions of the seventh; so the poems must be of long growth. He defends the Peisistratid 'recension' as a lower limit to their growths, made possible by the spread of alphabetic writing to mainland Greece.

It will be seen that here there is much learned and ingenious study on broad, comparative lines. It would have been easier to estimate both Professor Thompson's own contribution, and his debt to Marxism, if he had been more explicit as to his other debt to 'bourgeois' predecessors such as Grote, Ridgway, Leaf and Andrew Lang. What is more useful to students is his careful reference to classical texts; and it is by his use of these, not on 'materialist' authority and the 'dialectics of poetry,' that his work will stand.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Los Pueblos de España.** By J. Caro Baroja. *Colección Histórica Laye, V. Barcelona (Editorial Barna, S.A.), 1946. Pp. 495, 65 plates (4 coloured), 26 figs.*

The author, who is Director of the Museo del Pueblo Español in Madrid, claims modestly that his book is intended only to introduce the general public to the ethnography of Spain. The book comprises three parts: in the first two he deals with the prehistoric peoples and the historic peoples of antiquity, discussing archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence; in the third he deals with the modern culture of Spain, region by region, under the several heads of the house, agriculture, social and spiritual traits, festivals and folklore in the narrow sense, arts and industries, with incidental reference to physical anthropology. He is so scrupulous in avoiding forced evidence and false chains of reasoning, and so impatient of 'opinions given the title of theories,' that his book is mainly a work of description following avowedly a middle course between the dogmatic and the sceptical, the schematic and the sentimental.

Whatever the author intended, his book must appeal more widely than to the amateur, from its clear statement and fair summing up of views on controversial points, the invaluable bibliographical references given in over 2,000 notes, and the stimulating *obiter dicta* and provocative criticisms interspersed throughout—for example, the reminders, à propos of an abusive use of the 'theory of the substrate' in toponyms and in folklore, of the unifying action of Roman troops and military colonists, and of the uniformity which a superior class may impose on toponymic material of the most diverse origin; thus the Spaniards, who had first made 'Zaragoza' out of an original *Cesar Augusta*, imposed the name in Sicily on Syracuse as the 'Sicilian Zaragoza' (pp. 240 and 86). In the matter of names imposed by the Greeks, however, the author dismisses too lightly the evidence from the sixth-century material imbedded in the *Ora Maritima* regarding Ligurians in the south-west, when he says that the Greeks at one period described all peoples of the Far West vaguely as 'Ligurians.' The *Ora Maritima*, in fact, named very precisely coastal peoples neighbouring the 'pemis Ligus' towards the Tagus and Sado and lying between the 'Ligustinu(s) lacu(s)' and Cape St. Vincent, taken as the westerly extreme of the Peninsula; this without prejudice to Berthelot's explanations in the Paris edition of the *Ora Maritima*, which the reviewers have not seen.

In dealing with the regions of today, defined principally in terms of their mediæval impress although more deeply rooted differences can be discerned, the author emphasizes a fundamental unity in the customs of the northern group—from Galicia to Navarre—in justification of Strabo, and their common character as conservators of archaic forms of culture in the appropriate mountain environment, above all in the Basque country. To the Basque language an admirably balanced chapter has been devoted in the first part, doing justice to the elements of Stone Age culture (names of tools and implements—knife, axe, hoe, chisel—with the root *aitz*, stone), to the structural analogies with modern Caucasian languages, and to the wide analogies of vocabulary with African and Indo-European languages; an interesting point is that the people speaking the language met gold and silver before copper (described as 'like-gold') and tin ('like-silver'). On the more difficult question of the relationship between Basque and Iberian, which is really part of the obscure Iberian problem—who were the Iberians? what were the Iberian languages?—we get a less clear picture, except that the author dislikes the idea of an African origin for the Iberians. On the technological side, specific archaisms are not defended, although a good word is said for Spanish traditional ploughs in general (the cart of Northern Spain has equally survived on its merits, as Haddon recognized). But we are reminded that no archaic cast of mind has blocked here the development of industrial life on such a scale that the provinces of Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya especially are in danger of becoming one immense *banlieue*.

On passing to the regions of the next group to the south, where he stresses the immediate appearance of elements which could not have been brought from the north, to support his view that there was continuity of life throughout the Reconquest period at a humble rural level, whatever hiatus there may have been in time



and space at the urban level, the author leaves what seems to be his home ground and his touch is much less sure; his final summary of the Castilian character, Old and New, cannot possibly be accepted without further examination. On the question of historic continuity, the argument based on the facies of Castilian rural life depicted in the earliest documents of Reconquest age seems, to the reviewers, to need restatement; the argument from the toponymy of the belt in which the medievalists postulate a 'No Man's Land' could be strengthened greatly by reference to the minor toponymy where that is possible, as De Hoyos recommends. Certainly, in eastern Burgos, the frequency of minor toponyms not of Romance origin—mainly Basque—which has led Merino Urrutia to conclude that Basque was the language of the Autrigones, is hard to explain except by continuity, especially where the major toponyms are predominantly Romance. In one upland parish the proportion of such toponyms collected by the reviewers under the inspiration of Merino Urrutia was assessed at 30 per cent.

In folk custom, again, the author finds evidence for a wider continuity. Under *Hispano-Roman survivals* in Castile (pp. 381f.) he adduces the analogy of the modern festival of the *mondas* with the Cerealia and the '*Cereres mundus* (or *mundum*?)' of Apuleius—municipal offerings of wax, flowers, banners, decorated rams escorted until recently by maidens, brought in Easter Week to the Virgen del Prado at Talavera de la Reina with public feasting and almsgiving. The verbal analogy extends to the maidens called *mondudas* who carry bread in baskets to the Virgen de la Peña on St. John's Day at San Pedro Manrique (Soria); and, it might be added, the custom, though not the name, reappears in the patronal festival (May 11, 12) of Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Logroño). Here the aspect of the festival—processions of matrons, maidens bearing cakes in veiled baskets, satin-clad sheep, and mules loaded with wine, bread and vegetables for the public meal, to a cathedral where the perpetual keeping of white fowls, associated with a legend of innocence vindicated against false accusation, suggests a Roman *auspicium*—is distinctly 'classical.' But the town itself is definitely of Reconquest foundation. Can we assume a Hispano-Roman tradition surviving at rustic levels in the neighbourhood of a major Roman road, to be relocalized when, about 1050, the hermit-engineer saint founded his new colony? Or have we merely a

medieval custom of general Mediterranean aspect explainable by the need to protect and feed pilgrims?

The folklore evidence assists the author to differentiate a culture zone—roughly from Galicia in an arc to Teruel—where strong Celtic influence coincides with emphasis on May customs, from the Cantabrian zone, where midsummer customs and bonfires are dominant. Naturally, there are overlaps, and a certain fluidity of dates for all summer customs: in a Catalonian example the tree called *maig* is set up at midsummer; effigies are burned from Lent to midsummer, not least in Castile; Saint John's Day, observed almost everywhere, is the occasion of a solemn fire-walking at San Pedro Manrique.

For the extraordinary summary (pp. 386f.) of Castile as suffering from lack of integration, cultural, social and economic, and as 'the most enigmatic' Spanish region, most resembling eastern Europe, little justification is offered other than an alleged tendency to exaggerated personal adornment. Yet the author tends usually to underestimate wearing apparel as an ethnographic character, and the instances cited from Salamanca and the west might more properly be called Leonese. The reviewers have not themselves met with anything of the kind in north-eastern Castile and feel sure that all this will be read with amazement in Burgos and Valladolid.

In Andalusia, where the ethnographic 'sediment' is perhaps thicker and more varied than in any other region, archaism is surprisingly indefinite, shown, for example, in the cave dwellings, which are as much a matter of climate as of ethnography; in the social structure, with a great part played by the *latifundios* which the author regards as pre-Roman; in the social environment, into which the gypsies could readily be absorbed; as well as the literature and art, all combining to give Andalusia the flavour of 'a something not quite European,' but not African, rather east Mediterranean. Even the ecclesiastical festivals are alleged to be sometimes touched with this flavour: in this context the author has one of his best *obiter dicta*, drawing the admirable distinction between a 'functional paganism,' that is, presumably, a character corresponding to abiding or recurring needs, and a 'historical paganism' referable to concrete pre-Christian origins. On this analogy one might speak perhaps of 'functional classicism' at Santo Domingo and elsewhere.

BARBARA AND ROBERT AITKEN

## AFRICA

*The Sanusi of Cyrenaica.* By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. O.U.P., 1949. Pp. v, 240. Price 25s.

62 The revolt against what has been erroneously called conjectural history led to the adoption of the device known as functionalism. Valuable as this has been in stimulating research, it has, unfortunately, led many to the absurd position of totally rejecting historical data. It is readily admitted that the bulk of work in recent years has been conducted among peoples for whom there is no recorded history, but the general reluctance to use historical data becomes apparent when those of us who so strongly urge the need for comparative studies have so far almost completely neglected one of the most fruitful sources, namely history. Professor Evans-Pritchard's book marks an important advance in that it is the first attempt by a modern social anthropologist to use historical material.

We have long been accustomed to the kind of history that begins at a point in the past and proceeds willy-nilly to another point, there to stop for reasons known only to those who have made such excursions. *The Sanusi* is not an attempt to narrate all that is known about a particular religious order, beginning with the foundation of the first religious lodge and carrying its history through to the present day. It is an attempt to explain a contemporary sociological problem, and history is appealed to as the means whereby the problem can be illuminated. Professor Evans-Pritchard is concerned to show how a religious order assumed the functions of political authority, and to do this he has found it necessary to give an analysis of Bedouin social structure. It is very much doubted whether a historian would have given the tribes a mention, or whether, indeed, he has the competence to deal with this kind of material. For the development of the argument in this book, the tribal system is

pivotal. It was on the tribal structure that the organization of the Order was based, and it was by virtue of this that it was able to achieve political significance. During the period of Turkish rule in Cyrenaica (which lasted until 1911), the Order became firmly established, but it was not until the Italians invaded the country that its political character was thrown into sharp outline. Finally when Sayyid Idris, the present Head of the Order, recruited troops to fight under the Sanusi flag as allies of the British in the last war, the seal was put to the new arrangement. In Frazer's familiar idiom, 'the Priest becomes King.'

A notable contribution which this book makes to general theory is the way in which this crude generalization, the priest becomes king, is refined. We are now able to postulate certain minimum conditions which should be found wherever this development takes place. We see, first, that the roots of political authority lie in religious authority. Secondly, the Order was culturally familiar to the Bedouin. Ignorant though they were of the tenets of Islam, the Bedouin were Muslims, and well familiar with the *Marabout* (holy man) in their midst long before the advent of the founder of the Order. Thirdly, the founder was a foreigner. He was not a Cyrenaican tribesman, but came from Morocco. The shaihs of the religious lodges also came from the west. Again, the headquarters of the Order was placed not among the tribes but in the distant oasis of Jaghbub, and was later removed to the still more distant oasis of Kufra. Thus the Order was not identified with any particular tribe, and was therefore free from the jealousies inherent in the segmentary system. Fourthly, the Order possessed an organization. It had a headquarters and a number of carefully distributed lodges. Each tribe had its lodge, and the more fractionized of the tribes had several lodges. Saints' tombs show a similar but more detailed



distribution, the overall picture neatly illustrating the degree of cohesion within the various tribes. How essential it was that the Order should possess an organization is made clear by the short account of the other Islamic Orders in Libya, not one of which has achieved political significance. Fifthly, the Order had to contend with external opposition. During the latter years of Turkish rule, the Order was showing marked signs of disintegration. On 29 September, 1911, the Italians stopped the rot. They did more than this. They provided the kind of opposition, and that of a sufficiently lengthy duration, to weld the Bedouin into a nation and to force upon them the realization of their identity as Sanusi over and above their membership of one of the mutually hostile tribes. The three chapters (V-VII) dealing with the wars and the negotiations which punctuated them brilliantly illustrate this theme. In these chapters we see also how the Italians were caught in the dilemma of having to deal with the Head of the Order—since they could hardly negotiate with a tribal system—whose sovereignty they so desperately wished to deny.

These then, were the minimum conditions which were required for the priest to become king. In these conditions we have the kind of material which permits us to make comparisons with similar developments elsewhere. There is, however, material of another kind which we cannot neglect. We refer to the accidents which assume such an important role in this history. Was it not accidental in the first place that the Grand Sanusi should have taken up residence in Cyrenaica? And did not the genius of this person in grasping the essentials of the tribal structure contribute significantly to the development of the Order? It was of no small advantage also to have the Turk, who, more than anyone, knew the real meaning of *laissez-faire*, sitting in Benghazi during the Order's period of incubation. What other power, again, would have behaved in the dastardly way the Italians did towards the Bedouin? Anything, in fact, might have happened from the time of the founding of the first religious lodge in 1843 until the official subjugation of the tribes in 1931. That the development took the lines it did can only be accounted for in terms of these accidents. The question that therefore must be raised is the age-old question of whether history is susceptible to the methods of the natural sciences, and if so, are we to discount the role of accidents in history so as to bring it in line with science? Or, alternatively, must we admit in Bury's words that history 'demands a different interpretation'? And when we speak of accidents, we mean not simply that accidents have beset a particular development, but that they display a universality similar to that of what we have called the minimum conditions. We must ask too, the question whether what we have distinguished as minimum conditions are in fact of a different order from accidents. These are philosophical questions which I do not propose to deal with here, but which, since they determine our whole outlook to anthropology and the way in which it is taught, should seriously concern us.

The errors that occur in the book arise mainly from the need for compression. We will briefly mention some of them. (i) 'The client tribes which are split up and scattered throughout Cyrenaica are not tribes in the political but only in the ethnic sense.' This is not true of all the client tribes. Some of them display all the features which are given for the noble tribes. (ii) Although mention is made of the fact that the lineage system permitted the establishment of the Order as a political organization, more might have been made of this. The Bedouin always insist that they are *min batan wahid* (from the one belly), as descendants of the common ancestress Sa'ada, and this concept alone is a considerable force of unity among the tribes. There have, indeed, been indications of this in the past. There are nine noble or Sa'adi tribes, and these are regarded as falling into two major groups, each group claiming descent from one of the sons of Sa'ada. It is known that each of these two groups has fought as such against external enemies. Logically, there is no reason why they could not have come together and fought as Sa'adi tribes against the Italians. This might not have worked in practice, and the information relating to the Italian wars in Tripolitania suggests that there tribal disunity enabled the Italians to deal with the tribes piecemeal. Still, it is thought that the unity that existed among the Sa'adi tribes—discounting, that is, the influence of the Sanusi Order—was of greater significance than the details of

this book lead us to believe. (iii) The Bedouin readily evoke admiration, but the statement that 'there was no one that could be fairly labelled pro-Italian' cannot pass. It might have been more fruitful to accept the fact that there were defaulters among them and to have found out who these were. It is doubtless true that the client tribes showed more marked predilections for the Italians than did the noble tribes, but even among the noble tribes themselves whole families went over to the Italians. It is suggested that these were mainly the grafted elements of the noble tribes, and that collaboration might have been viewed as an indication of some of the tribal cleavages. (iv) The information relating to the position of the shaiikh is not entirely satisfactory, although most of it consists of quotations from Italian sources. 'Each section of a tribe, from the smallest to the largest, has its shaiikh or shaiikhs' implies a hierarchic system which might have existed in the minds of Italian administrators, but which is quite foreign to the Bedouin. Again, the notion that the shaiikh is necessarily wealthy and able to entertain on a lavish scale is an impression that one might easily get, but it must be remembered that the wherewithal for such entertainment is provided by the tribal group. The relations of the shaiikh to his group have a much greater element of reciprocity in them than is suggested in this book.

E. L. PETERS

**Guder og Fedre.** By Jørgen Ruud. Oslo (Aschehoug), 1947. Pp. 178, 24 plates, 1 map

**63** This book has been written by a missionary who found, during many years of work in an isolated forest station, that an attempt to give unbiased understanding to the processes of native thought was the best way to approach the problem of teaching the Tanala of Madagascar to be Christians. Mr. Ruud is therefore primarily concerned to describe those aspects of the culture where he, as a missionary, came into contact with the Tanala, e.g. the ceremonies of marriage and of death, the relationships and sources of authority in the social group and the organization of this group in its attitude to the gods. There is much information illuminating and sometimes contradicting Professor Linton's previous study of these people, and there is a regrettable omission within its scope in that there is no description of the geomancer; for the book is moving in its presentation of primitive humanity, organized and functioning as a creative force, and the principal figure in this particular organization is the geomancer.

There are many fine photographs from the collection made by the Service Photographique in Tananarive: the posed ceremonial groups, such as that illustrating the circumcision, are less happily chosen, perhaps, than one of two Tanala chiefs in true native dress.

MARY DANIELLI

**The One-Leg Resting Position (Nilotenstellung), in Africa and Elsewhere.** By K. G. Lindblom. *Statens Etnografiska Museum, Smärre Meddelanden*, No. 22, Stockholm, 1949. Pp. 34, with 15 figs. and a distribution map. Price 4 Sw. kr.

**64** Professor Lindblom has put the anthropological world further in debt to his school by publishing another invaluable comparative study of an African culture trait—this time a little less 'material' than its precursors. The subject is the strange practice—strange at least to the unstable products of industrial society—of standing with one foot supported on, or at the level of, the other knee, with or without a stick as additional support. Professor Lindblom shows, with ample references and to the probable surprise of most of his readers, that this posture, generally associated with the Dinka, is in fact extremely widespread in Africa, and also occurs more or less widely in all the other continents. His search of the literature has indeed been so complete and so successful as to deprive the trait of some of its significance, for it begins to look as if the posture is a natural one among people close to the soil and may not need to be explained by diffusion, though it might, of course, be encouraged by it. But the march of science may be advanced by negative as well as by positive evidence, and this work provides firm ground from which physiological and other research on the subject may start.



On the day (19 November, 1949) on which I write this review, I have myself seen this posture in use for the first time. In a field near Nok, a Jaba village some 100 miles south-west of Jos in Northern Nigeria, a bearded old Jaba man was watching a younger man working beside him in a field of guinea corn; he stood in the classical *Nilotenstellung*, with the heel of his left foot in the hollow above his right kneecap, and supporting himself with a stick which



FIG. 1. MONGANDU BOY IN ONE-LEG POSITION

he held against his left ribs and which passed across his left thigh to the ground. As I watched he reversed the position exactly, and after standing on his left leg for about three minutes reverted to the right as before. According to the partly Islamized son of the local chief, who was with us, the posture is only used by the old men, but this may only mean that he despised it.<sup>1</sup>

A more important instance, since it occurs in the middle of the

great blank area covering Ubangi-Shari and most of the Belgian Congo in Lindblom's useful distribution map, is provided by one of an excellent series of photographs recently obtained by the British Museum and taken some 20 or more years ago by Mr. and Mrs. Cartwright, who were missionaries among the Bangandu at Yoseki, 80 miles south of the Congo River and about 100 west of Stanleyville. This shows a group of Bangandu standing by a large dead snake, and one of them is clearly shown in our position, and without visible support. This is, perhaps a fit, if unusual, place to reproduce the picture (fig. 1).

Lastly, I may perhaps be allowed to offer here a guess which occurred to me when I first saw a photograph of a Dinka resting: it is that the storks or cranes referred to by Homer as having a famous battle somewhere in Africa with the pygmies are none other than tall African tribesmen, whose peculiar posture of rest had gained them this nickname among early travellers in northern Africa (where pygmies also could no doubt be found at that time). This same posture might also be the germ of another traveller's tale, current from Herodotus to Maundeville, about the race of one-legged men who lie on their backs and use their single large foot as a shield against the sun.

WILLIAM FAGG

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this review I have observed the position in three other parts of Nigeria: first on the southern outskirts of Abeokuta, where a man who appeared to be a Yoruba, but might have been a Hausa, was standing by the roadside among a group of men, supporting himself on a stick; secondly, near Bokkos on the Jos Plateau, where a Fulani cowherd was using it (and I understand that it is common among Fulani); and thirdly at Benin, where a Bini boy aged about nine or ten adopted the position outside the museum while watching me photographing antiquities; he supported himself on a machete, holding the handle upright against his right buttock, while his left foot rested on his right knee, the left thigh being level and at an angle of 45 degrees; in the right angle between trunk and thigh he held a beer bottle in what seemed a secure and comfortable position. The Court Historian, Chief J. U. Egharevba, who was present, told me that the posture was 'not common' at Benin. But the fact that I have noted its quite casual occurrence four times during less than three weeks in widely separated areas of Nigeria, since reading Professor Lindblom's compilation, suggests that it may be found almost universally when people are accustomed to looking for it.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Lascaux and the Sudan

65 SIR,—Among the frescoes of the cave at Lascaux, Dordogne, is the figure of a man wearing a bird's-head mask and of another bird sitting on a pole (see A. H. Brodrick, *Prehistoric Painting*, Pl. 23). May not this represent the *Burtu* (ground hornbill) technique still used by Hausa hunters to approach close to game?

F. DE F. DANIEL

Templecombe, Somerset

### Natural Cause of Forest Fires

66 SIR,—It has often been suggested that forest fires in tropical or subtropical countries are caused by the friction of dry branches blown by the wind, but such an occurrence has rarely if ever been actually recorded. At Professor Hutton's suggestion, I submit the following for the information of your readers. In June, 1939, I was on a hunting expedition in India when I came across a patch of smoking grass. In the centre was a small dense bush about 3 feet high. Two branches were rubbing each other where they crossed about one foot from the ground; at this point they were about half an inch in diameter. They were burning and were charred black. The grass, which was about two feet high, was being blown against these branches by the breeze; the fire was burning

down the grass stems and catching the dry leaves on the ground. A few yards away was another patch of burning grass.

My tracker told me that the local hunters did not stamp out such incipient fires, as the burning of the forest drove the game into restricted areas where it was more easily found.

NAWAB SHEIK F. ALI AKBAR

Magdalene College, Cambridge

### Hinduism. Cf. MAN, 1949, 154

67 SIR,—Dr. Srinivas's unfavourable and sweeping statement about European Christians' accounts of Hinduism and other religions, which appears so conspicuous amidst his sound criticism of Dr. Bouquet's *Hinduism*, calls for comment. Christians, particularly from among scholars of high academic standing, have already shown candour and objectivity when studying religions other than their own. For instance, I have found in Professor H. A. R. Gibb's *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey* (O.U.P., 1949) an excellent example of fairness and comprehension together with complete absence of bias. This book and some other articles written by European Christians on the same subject must weaken the force of Dr. Srinivas's statement.

ALY A. ISSA

St. Catherine's Society, Oxford









(b)



(a)

# RESERVE DYEING IN NEW GUINEA

(a) Boiling the whole skirt in leaves to dye red, the parts to be black and yellow are reserved. The pot is typical Bosman ware, and is supported on other pots inverted. The mud with which this is done is seen in the dish to the right. The skirt has been taken out of the red dye and dried. The binding is being taken off the part to be dyed black. The mud with which this is done is seen in the dish to the right. The second woman, whose hand only is seen, is squeezing mud on to the fibres from which the binding has been removed.

Photographs: Miss B. M. Blackwood



# RESERVE DYEING IN NEW GUINEA\*

by

BEATRICE M. BLACKWOOD, B.SC., M.A.

*Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford*

68 In 1937, while studying the arts and industries of the Bosmun on behalf of the Pitt Rivers Museum, I watched a process of reserve dyeing which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been described. The Bosmun live on a small tributary which enters the Ramu River about 20 miles from its mouth. The usual dress of the women of this group consists of a fringe skirt made of the young leaves of the sago palm, very finely shredded, and it is on some of these skirts that the reserve technique is carried out.

The skirts are made by knotting bundles of fibres over a double cord of twisted fibre string. Each bundle is about

tightly round with strips of fibre, taken from the leaves of a palm (?raphia palm), which is impervious to the liquid dye. The skirt is then put into a pot with the leaves of the tree called in the Bosmun dialect *neng* (not identifiable from my herbarium specimen) and boiled for about two hours, being constantly stirred with a long piece of bamboo (see Plate Ea). When the fibres have reached the desired shade of red (judged by inspection) the skirt is taken out and dried in the sun. After it is thoroughly dry, the tight binding is cut with a knife made of a sharp fragment of shell (of a species of *Cytherea*, plentiful in the Ramu) and taken off one section at a time, exposing the part which



FIG. 1. GRATING TURMERIC ROOT TO MAKE YELLOW DYE

*The grater is a branch of the sago palm; its natural ridges are seen above the worker's hand.*

the thickness of a finger, and double the required length of the skirt, being knotted at its middle. The double cord is made into a loop at one end and left with two long loose ends at the other for tying round the waist. The general appearance and method of wearing can be seen in Plate Ea.

The reserve dyeing is done on the finished skirt. Portions of the separately knotted bundles of fibres are wound

\* With Plate E and two text figures

had been covered by it in the natural colour of the dried leaves; Plate Eb shows the worker removing the binding.

Two colours are used to dye these reserved portions, black and yellow. Black is obtained by covering the fibres with a thick coating of greenish black mud from the sago swamps; the second worker, whose hand only is seen in Plate Eb, is putting on this coating of mud. It remains in position for some time and is then shaken out; the resulting



colour varies from a greenish to a greyish black. For yellow, the worker takes some of the dried tuber of a plant called *ngoek* (*Zingiber* species, allied to turmeric) and grates it to a mash, using as a grater a portion of sago-palm branch, which is roughened by natural ridges (these can be seen between the hands of the worker in fig. 1). The grated tuber is put into a bowl with a little cold water; the portion of skirt to be dyed yellow is not immersed in this, but is held over the bowl while the wet mash is rubbed over it and well in between the fibres, which are then twisted tightly together. Fig. 2 shows a whole skein of fibre being dyed yellow in this way, but the technique is the same if only the small reserved portions of a skirt are being dyed.

Sometimes both black and yellow are used on the same skirt. In such cases the binding is put on in two pieces, close

are kept for special occasions. Next come skirts which have the three colours but in bundles of red and black alternating with bundles of red and yellow. Less highly thought of are skirts in which whole bundles of one colour are followed by whole bundles of another, in which case no 'reserve' technique is involved, but the fibre is dyed in the skein before the skirt is made. Ordinary skirts for working wear are usually dyed red only, the skirt being finished when it is taken out of the pot in which it has been boiled with the *neng* leaves.

The following description of four skirts collected for the Pitt Rivers Museum will serve to illustrate the variations in general use. The skirts do not vary much in dimensions, all being between 27 inches and 28 inches in circumference, roughly about 16 inches long at the back and 8 to 11 inches



FIG. 2. DYEING A SKEIN OF SHREDDED FIBRES YELLOW WITH TURMERIC

*In this case the whole skein is being dyed yellow, but the technique is the same as in dyeing a portion of a parti-coloured skirt*

against one another, but separately fastened off. One piece is taken off first, and the section of the bundle of fibres thus exposed is plastered with mud. Leaving this in position, the worker next removes the wrapping from the other half of the bound section, which she dyes yellow as previously described. All the bound portions are treated in the same manner. After drying for a while, the skirt is shaken to get rid of the bits of mashed root and then dried thoroughly, after which the mud is also removed. Each bundle of fibres then appears coloured red, black and yellow in consecutive sections, repeated throughout its length.

These three-coloured skirts are considered the best and

in front. There is a short gap between the front and back sections, which comes over one hip, the skirt being tied over the other.

*B.B.II.1429.* Alternate bundles of red and yellow, dyed in the skein; no reserve dyeing but a similar effect is obtained by making the skirt in four 'flounces' (lengths 5, 6½, 7½ and 8½ inches) in front, and three (8½, 11 and 16 inches) at the back, so arranged that the colours alternate, a portion of yellow showing below the shorter 'flounce' which ends in red, and *vice versa*.

*B.B.II.1430a.* Bundles of red with reserve-dyed yellow (roughly 4 inches yellow to 2 inches red) alternating with bundles dyed wholly in black. No 'flounces' but a few shorter pieces at both ends of each half, like a tassel.

*B.B.II.1428.* Bundles of red with reserve-dyed yellow alternating with bundles of yellow with reserve-dyed black, each



colour in lengths of 1 to 1½ inches. No flounces, but a couple of bundles cut shorter at both ends of each half.

B.B.II.1430. All bundles in sections of red, yellow and black in that order in the proportions of roughly 1 inch of red, 1½ inches of black and 2 inches of yellow. The bundles are so arranged that red and black appear alternately at the top, where they are tied to the waist cord. Only that half of each bundle which shows has been reserve-dyed, the inside half, next to the body, being all red.

In Seligman's *Melanesians of British New Guinea* there is a picture (Plate 38) of some girls belonging to the Waima tribe, who live on the Papuan Gulf a little east of Cape Possession. The second from the left is wearing a fringe skirt which looks as though it had been reserve-dyed, but I cannot find any information about it. However, there are in the Pitt Rivers Museum two skirts the colouring of which is exactly like that of those from the Bosmun, and it seems reasonable to conclude that they were dyed by the same method. One (IX.102) from the Fly River region, has a short 'flounce' of yellow and black with the hinder portion of the bundles (which shows below the 'flounce') all yellow, alternating with all-red bundles. The other (IV.108) for which we have no more exact provenance than 'British New Guinea,' has bundles of red-and-black alternating with all-yellow bundles. Both are made of the young leaves of the sago palm finely shredded; the only difference from the Bosmun skirts is in the kind of knot with which the bundles are fastened to the waist strings. This adds another item to the list of close resemblances between the peoples of the North Coast and those of the Papuan Gulf.

'Reserve' techniques are not unknown elsewhere in Melanesia, with variations in method of use. Ivens (1927, p. 383), describing the dyeing of cane to make personal ornaments on Little Mala, one of the South-East Solomon Islands, says: 'In another process the cane is dyed in sections, creepers being bound round to prevent the dye affecting the whole.' Speiser (1923, p. 267) gives an account of another variant used in dyeing the finely plaited pandanus-leaf 'mats' worn tucked into a belt by men and women in parts of the New Hebrides. The mat is laid over a wooden cylinder, and on it are placed narrow rectangles of banana-leaf stalks so as to form patterns. These are pressed close to the mat by a string wound spirally round

the cylinder, and prevent the dye from reaching the parts covered by them when the whole is placed in the dye trough. In a later work (1946, pp. 48f.), Speiser lists reserve dyeing as one of many 'culture elements' which Melanesia owes to Indonesia.

Reserving the portion to be left undyed, or to be dyed another colour, by tying up bundles of strings with fibres impervious to liquid dye is, of course, the method used in the *ikat* technique practised in Indonesia (and in a number of other localities), where the warp or the weft threads or (in Bali only) both are so treated before the fabric is woven. Taking the meaning of the word *ikat* as given in Wilkinson's Malay Dictionary—'tying up, binding with string, thread or rope'—the technique described in the present paper might also be so called. But *ikat* has now been adopted into the vocabulary of textiles (as suggested by Haddon and Start, 1936, p. 139) to apply to the tie dyeing of threads for subsequent weaving on a loom, and there are advantages in thus restricting its application. To call the technique now under discussion merely 'reserve' or 'resist' dyeing does not, however, sufficiently distinguish it from other 'reserve' techniques, such as that described above from the New Hebrides, or that usually referred to as *plangi* (Malay *pělangi*, variegated, *kain pělangi*, cloth coloured by the tie-and-dye process, Wilkinson), in which bits of the already woven material are tied tightly round small objects such as pebbles or seeds before the whole is immersed in the dye. Perhaps some such term as 'free *ikat*' might serve for the technique as practised in New Guinea, since the strands, when dyed, are left flowing and are not made into a fabric.

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## THE FIRST CRADLE OF AN ALBANIAN CHILD

by

THE LATE MRS. MARGARET HASLUCK

69 The flatness of the back of men's heads in Albania has long been a puzzle. It is artificial, say the other races in the Balkans, and produced by strapping babies to boards. It is certainly an Albanian ideal. All over the country men and boys make their faces look as long and rectangular as possible by shaving their hair straight across from the tip of the ear, then straight up the side of the forehead in one step or two, and finally over the forehead, well back from the edge of the hair, in a convex curve. They

also wear their felt caps at the angle best adapted to accentuate the straight lines of their heads. Many peasant women shave their hair in the same way, though in their case the flat effect at the back is lost under a kerchief. In some districts, too, midwives say that they tie a tight bandage round a newborn infant's head to make it long instead of round. 'Who wants a head like an apple?' they ask, with an air of closing the argument.

Cultivated Albanians, however, deny that infants are



strapped to boards. The sides of an Albanian cradle, too, are so low that the observer can see for himself that the child rests, not on a board, but on a sufficiently thick mattress and pillow. Every Balkan tale about a neighbouring country is spiced with malice, and he is driven into scepticism about the board. This remained my own attitude after eight years of travel in Albania. In the spring of 1931, however, I chanced to stay at the Orthodox monastery of Shën Jon Vladimir ('St. John Vladimir'), near Elbasan in central Albania, and was invited to the birthday party of a baby which had just arrived in the adjacent Orthodox village of Shëjon. The party took place in the kitchen where the child had been born and he was lying by the fire, his body strapped to a rough board.

Only a series of accidents had led me to the discovery. I had gone to the only district in which a simple piece of wood is used. My stay coincided with a birth and, for reasons to be explained later, the board is to be seen for only a short period immediately succeeding that event. My stay had also been long enough for me to become sufficiently friendly with the peasants of Shëjon to be told of the birth. Without a long stay there would have been no hope of hearing about it; Albanians, always secretive, are particularly reticent about intimate matters and hardly mention the expected birth of a baby to each other, let alone to a passing traveller. Finally, I was a woman and so could be admitted to the lying-in room where the board was. Even after actually seeing it, I ran into difficulties which show what a traveller who has not seen it has to contend with. A number of Albanians told me that the board does not exist, the men saying so because they affect conventionally to know nothing about babies, and the women because they are not used to fine distinctions in nomenclature or anything else, and call both board and the true cradle which succeeds it a 'cradle.'

As I have said, the board (*dërrasë* or, in certain areas, *kopanec*) is used for only a short period. This varies with the locality and the religion. Near Elbasan it is ten days in Orthodox cases and forty in Moslem; on the coastal plain of Myzeqe three days in Orthodox cases and three weeks or five in Moslem; near Krujë, to the north of Tirana, less than a week in Catholic cases and three days, ten days or five weeks in Moslem; in north Albania only twenty-four hours, and in Milot, north of Krujë, only one hour. At the end of the chosen period the baby is transferred to a proper cradle (*djepe*). As for the reasons for keeping it on a board for periods of varying length, it can only be said that in mixed communities members of one faith seem to try to avoid the practice of another and that in many Moslem communities the resumption of marital relations between the father and the mother, forty days after the child's birth, is awaited. Sometimes the conventional arithmetical limits are disregarded in favour of other considerations. Orthodox Christians, as will be seen below, often wait for the child's baptism. Those in Shëjon and their ex-Christian neighbours, the Moslems of Reçan, wait also till the moon comes to the full in order to ensure the child a full measure of life. The many Orthodox in the district of Shpat, across the river from Elbasan, cradle babies when there is no moon

at all so that the children shall enjoy all the phases of life. The approach of May and December, the most unlucky months of the year, also speeds up the transfer in Shpat; at all costs these months must not find the baby still on its board.

At first sight it seems possible that the board may really affect the shape of the infant's head. Like its mattress, its pillow is only about an inch thick and, being stuffed with straw, rushes, raw cotton or rags of rough homespun, has little resiliency. Night and day, too, the child is kept motionless in the same position, prone on its back, tightly strapped to the board. If, however, the harsh pillow does combine with the board to flatten its head, the flattening is purely fortuitous, not intentional; the mothers assert so firmly that the pillow is an adequate safeguard that they evidently believe this to be true. But the shortness of the time spent by most babies on the board makes it quite impossible for any deformation of the head to result. Moreover, so far as I could gather, the board is not used now south of Mt. Tomor, yet the proportion of flat-backed heads among these Southern Albanians (Tosks) is at least as high as it is among the Gëgs (Northern Albanians). Flat-backed heads are also numerous among the Greeks of Zagori, the mountainous district overhanging the town of Konitza, in Epirus, who indignantly deny using a board.

When I came to enquire into the purpose of the board and its variants, several answers were given me. The Orthodox in Shëjon said that evil spirits, best spoken of euphemistically as the 'Good Ladies' (*të Mirat*), hover round every mother and her newborn infant, eager to steal the child, but do not dream of finding anything worth their attention on 'a paltry board' (*nji dërrasë e keqe*); hence the child must lie there till, some ten days after its birth, baptism puts it beyond their reach. This explanation is supported by certain facts. The belief that spirits good or bad attend a birth is widespread in Europe. The baby in Shëjon lay not on a proper mattress but on strips torn from an old piece of cloth, as though to make it appear of even less consequence in the eyes of the 'Good Ladies.' The reference to baptism, too, sounds credible; the rite is used as a charm against evil all over the Near East, even among Moslems (see 'Baptism' in F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam*). In the scattered Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, priests are so few that baptism is hard to come by, but the peasants seem to have it in mind when they say the newborn baby is strapped to a board because it is 'a thing of naught' (*nji gjë e keqe*) and not yet 'a human being' (*insan*), two terms which correspond respectively to the *τίποτε* and *ἄνθρωπος* used in speaking of a child before and after its baptism by the Greeks of Greece, who have, naturally, influenced Orthodox beliefs in Albania.

These stories of the moon and evil spirits date, it is clear, from pagan times and the talk of baptism from the coming of Christianity. It is perhaps less clear that the name 'Good Ladies' is probably recent if not quite modern. It is really the name of the Greek Fates (*Μοῖραι*), which sounds to an Albanian ear like the feminine plural of the Albanian adjective for 'good' and so seems suitably tricked out with two forms of the Albanian definite article to turn it into a



substantive. Even supposing that the idea of the existence of these spirits had come from Greece<sup>1</sup>, their name would hardly have accompanied the idea in unsophisticated days, for names are commonly lost in the oral transmission of folklore. Besides, the 'Good Ladies' are not known under that name in many Albanian districts where the board is used, and are known where it is not used. The baby in Shëjon, too, was couched on rags because of a superstition totally unconnected with them: that it is unlucky to *sew* anything for an infant before its birth. Most probably their Greek name did not penetrate to remote Elbasan until the 1880's when Turkey still held Albania and, though banning Albanian schools, permitted Greek as well as Turkish schools to open in various Albanian towns. Shortly afterwards Greeks began to take an interest in their own folklore, and it became easy for Greek teachers sent to Elbasan to identify the Albanian spirits with their own *Moīpai* and for their Albanian pupils to compose the phonetic equation *ai Moīpai = Të Mirat*. I owe this information on *Të Mirat*, and much else, to the late Lef Nosi of Elbasan.

Some other explanations of the use of the board were more realistic. A common one was that a newborn infant is too little to put in a cradle, but this seems to be only what peasants who had never before thought of the matter would reply. Another, even commoner, was that want of a cradle is responsible. The cradle cannot be prepared beforehand—that would be unlucky—but must be presented by the child's maternal grandmother after the birth or, less often, bought by its father. Since the grandmother is not allowed to be present at the birth, some days must elapse before she hears of it and finds time to buy the cradle. As for the father, he is too overwhelmed by shyness to venture out to market for a time, and meanwhile what is to become of the baby? There must be a deeper cause for

the board, however; for the cradle bought for the first child is used for every other child born into the family, yet they too must spend the first days of their life on a board.

This deeper cause seems to be the peasants' belief in sympathetic magic. They say everywhere that precarious though an infant's hold on life is, it will become 'as firm as wood' if the infant is strapped to a board so as to draw strength from it. The wooden floor of the cradle should logically be equally efficacious, they admit, but they dare not dispense with the board. And somehow the continuance of the family, a vital matter in Albanian eyes, depends on both board and cradle. I could not obtain specimens of either for love or money in a normal household, for giving away or selling either would have resulted in no more boys being born and the family becoming extinct. The specimens now in the Wilson Museum of Aberdeen University were either made specially for me or bought from a family which had already lost all its males. Yet another explanation ascribes the use of the board to convenience. A newborn infant must be kept warm, and this can only be done by laying it beside the fire. A cradle, unlike a board, would take up too much room and be in everybody's way. Most Albanians, too, are afraid to handle an infant's soft body, and for the poor and primitive among them a board is the most obvious support. These purely practical considerations are of considerable importance.

It is thus, I hope, established that a large number of Albanian babies really are strapped to boards but that this practice is not responsible for the flatness of the back of adult Albanian heads.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> The *Edmēides* ('gracious ladies') or Furies of ancient Greece should perhaps not be forgotten.—ED.

## SHORTER NOTES

**The Finnish Lapps in Wartime and After.\*** By Karl Nickul, M.A., Secretary, *Lapin Sivistysseura* (Society for the Promotion of Lappish Culture)

70 There are about 2,500 Lapps in Finland, or only .06 per cent. of the total population.<sup>1</sup> They nevertheless migrate<sup>2</sup> and live within territories which cover a twelfth of the country's total area; but their region is bleak and arid, providing for human subsistence only through the reindeer-breeding, fishing and hunting economies as developed by the Lapps. Many Lapps live north of the pine forests forming the Arctic tree line. Lapps living near big rivers and lakes keep cattle as well as reindeer.

The Finnish Lapps may be generally described as a peace-loving people, averse to violence, who typically seek to solve difficulties by rational methods and by ingenuity; formerly they also resorted to shamanism. By these expedients, and because their entire culture has been perfectly adjusted to the environment, they have managed to retain their own characteristics in the face of the ever-advancing Finnish pioneer settlers from the south. These Finns have built their houses mainly along the few highways.

It may be of interest to review the ways in which the vicissitudes

of war and problems of reconstruction have affected the various Finnish Lapp groups and their culture.

#### Evacuation in the Two Wars

During Finland's Winter War (1939–40), Petsamo was the only part of the Finnish North inhabited by Lapps which came within the sphere of military operations. The Skolt Lapps were evacuated in good time to the county of Tervola (between Kemi and Rovaniemi), while their nearest neighbours, the Lapp fishermen of eastern Inari (whose territory was bombed, but not fought over), were moved to Muonio, on the Swedish frontier. This first evacuation lasted three or four months and involved new experiences, especially for the Skolts of Suenjel, who had long led a secluded existence in the lake district of central Petsamo, unbroken except by the men's military training. Many of the women had never seen a motor car, nor even a highway, before they were stowed away in the big evacuation omnibuses with all their belongings, and the majority had never travelled by train. When the first warplane had appeared above the Skolts' winter village, the residents collected in the street and stared at it in amazement; luckily no bombs were dropped on that occasion.

\* With a map and 3 text figures. Edited by Dr. E. J. Lindgren



The women, children, invalids and aged men remained in the evacuation area, staying in schools and fed by the Red Cross. I visited them there once and the Governor said that the Lapps were the most contented of the various groups of evacuees. The men of military age were in the services, and the others were herding the reindeer evacuated to Inari. Luckily the deer, which were always allowed to scatter over their pasturelands in summer, had been rounded up at the time the war broke out, but driving them so far was difficult. While the Suenjel reindeer (numbering about 3,500 in 1939) normally required little herding, being held by their homing instinct to their owners' migration routes, forcing them away from their native ranges proved arduous, all the more since the Suenjel Skolts use few herding dogs. On returning home after the Winter War the Skolt Lapps found that some of their houses had been burnt, but in the main life continued as before.

The effects of the Second War, which began in 1941, did not spread to Lapland until after the armistice was signed in September, 1944. The Germans then still held northern Finland in their grip and had to be driven out by force in the winter of 1944-45. Civilians were evacuated first, but so swiftly that much movable property had to be left behind. The Lapps of Enontekiö (Finland's north-western 'elbow') and those in furthest Inari were evacuated to Sweden, which gave magnificent help. The Enontekiö Lapps, with their reindeer, were received across the border in Karesuando, where they lived in tents or rented houses, very much as at home, surrounded by their old friends the Karesuando Lapps, who made life more cheerful. The reindeer belonging to the Inari evacuees remained, herded by their owners, in the desolate region of Finnish Lapland where the provinces of Enontekiö, Inari and Kittilä meet, only the women, children and aged men living in schools and barracks at Arvidsjaur and Jokkmokk, in Swedish Norrbotten. The evacuated Lapps adapted themselves without fuss to this new type of existence, although 'homesick' for their younger menfolk, their reindeer and their native highlands. Relations with the Swedish farmers' families seem to have been smoother than those of other Finnish evacuees, and they mixed freely with the local population. The Pastor of Enontekiö visited them frequently.

Religion was an important factor in adaptation. With the exception of the Skolts, who belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, most of the Finnish Lapps adhere to the revivalist sect founded by Lars Levi Laestadius, Swedish Lutheran Minister in Karesuando, about a century ago. There are still many Laestadians in the northern parts of Sweden, Norway and Finland, and the sect is recognized by the State Church (Lutheran) in each case. The Lapp evacuees were therefore not in a 'foreign country' as far as religion was concerned. The children's schooling was moreover not seriously interrupted, for the Finnish teachers had accompanied their charges abroad. The evacuees were on the whole in better than average health during their stay. In the spring and summer of 1945 they returned home, to wretched conditions: the Germans and the pursuing Finnish forces had left only ruins behind.

The non-combatants among the other Finnish Lapp groups were evacuated to the counties bordering on Kalajoki River, in central Pohjanmaa (Österbotten). This flat agricultural land was totally unsuitable for Lapp evacuees, but uncertainty about the scope of military operations at first precluded a site further north, and other parts of Finland were already fully occupied by evacuees from areas in eastern and south-east Finland which had been lost under the peace treaty. The Lapps and farmers came from such different *milieux* that it was difficult for them to find a common basis of understanding, although both parties were so conscious of their worth and dignity that there was little sign of an 'inferiority complex' arising. The world-wide resident-evacuee

problems, arising from different methods and standards of housekeeping, were here most acute. While the Inari and Utsjoki Lapps generally lived in farmhouses, the Skolts were considered too untidy and were only able to obtain unsatisfactory quarters such as cold meeting halls. The strongest bond with the local population proved to be, again, the religious one. There are also Laestadians in Pohjanmaa and other creeds were, as a rule, in disfavour. The Lapps diligently attended church and prayer meetings, more accessible here than in their sparsely settled homeland, and the distressing circumstances in which they found themselves made them very receptive to spiritual influences. During the evacuation period two Lapp men married Finnish women and four Lapp women Finnish men.



FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING EVACUATION AREAS FOR FINNISH LAPPS (1939-45) AND THE SKOLTS' NEW PASTURELANDS (1947)

Drawn by V. Puustelli

Unfortunately the health of the evacuees suffered through their unfamiliar environment. The Lapps, accustomed to plenty of good fish and reindeer meat at home, had not felt the impact of rationing severely until now. Moreover the local water, in contrast to the clear rivers of Lapland, was said to 'make you sick,' and indeed much stomach trouble occurred. Infant mortality was high: during the months of evacuation Utsjoki county (population 900, predominantly Lappish) lost 8 children under one year old and 4 between one and five years of age. Of the Lapps from Inari (820, a quarter of the population), 45 died (20 of them children), while only 44 deaths occurred in the rest of the Inari population during the same period. The Kalajoki valley is one of the areas in Finland where tuberculosis is most prevalent and the Lapps who



had been evacuated there, lacking immunity, often became infected and have since spread it widely in Lapland. Venereal disease, which is very rare among Lapps, definitely increased during the war; alcohol was, of course, much more accessible than in Lapland and more freely indulged in. Moral standards showed some slackening and there was one divorce.

The Suenjel Skolts adjusted themselves the least easily to their new surroundings. The women found the rationing system difficult and often food did not last up to the next period. Early in 1945 Lapin Sivistysseura (the Society for the Promotion of Lappish Culture),<sup>3</sup> which had always taken a special interest in the isolated, culturally conservative Skolts, therefore arranged for assembling the evacuees in barracks, with a common mess and a housekeeper in charge. This measure, however wise, was resented by some Skolts in that it restricted the free use of their ration cards. In any case they longed to return to Lapland. As Suenjel was allotted to the U.S.S.R. by the armistice, they were moved to eastern Inari in the winter of 1945-46.

At the termination of hostilities the other Lappish evacuees in Finland were faced by a complete absence of houses and the ever-present peril of scattered mines. The reindeer-herders returned first, but their families insisted on joining them during the summer and autumn of 1945, although it meant sharing a very primitive life, in temporary shelters or in the cellars of their old houses.

In the course of their wartime experiences all the Lapp evacuees, at the cost of the suffering and hardship endured by some, had gained a wider outlook by associating closely with people living in quite different circumstances. It was also an advantage to the Lapps that the Finns of Pohjanmaa, for instance, came to correct their former notions about Lapps in many respects; they learned that Lapland, which had been just a Christmas-card country, was inhabited by intelligent people, worthy of respect. At the same time intra-Lapp solidarity grew: the Lapps learned to value their own culture. Their common interests emerged under the stress of evacuation and had a unifying effect, which found expression in the founding of Samu Litto (the Lappish League, *lit.* 'Mutual Association')<sup>4</sup> in April, 1945.

#### War Service

The Finnish Lapps served in the two wars in the same way as other citizens, having no special status as a minority or as reindeer-herders. Most of them acted as frontier guards from time to time, and they served in various regiments, principally on the northern border. The rigid discipline of military service does not at first come easily to most Finnish Lapps, but their knowledge of how to orient themselves and to survive in wild, uninhabited country was a great asset to the forces and many were promoted to the rank of petty officer. Eleven Lapps were killed in the Winter War and 37 in the Second War or immediately after, through the mines left behind by the retreating Germans. These casualties amounted to 2 per cent. of the Lapp population, Finnish casualties as a whole being in the same proportion. Furthermore, six Lappish war-wounded practically lost their capacity to work.

#### Post-War Problems

The stock of reindeer was seriously depleted through the two wars. In 1938 the Lapps owned 47,000 reindeer (one-fifth of the national reindeer stock), in 1946 about 26,000. The drop can be attributed to three main causes: the intensive slaughter of deer to help meet the country's wartime food requirements; the fact that many deer remained in areas lost under the peace treaty; and the depredations of the Germans.

In withdrawing from Finland the Germans not only burned down houses, but destroyed boats and even cut fishing nets to



FIG. 2. ONE OF THE NEW HOUSES BUILT FOR THE SKOLTS BY THE FINNISH STATE, 1948-49



FIG. 3. FENCE BUILT (1949) ALONG THE LAND BOUNDARIES OF THE SKOLTS' NEW SUMMER PASTURE, TO PREVENT REINDEER NEW TO THE REGION FROM STRAYING



FIG. 4. SKOLTS EN ROUTE TO THE FIRST COMMUNITY MEETING AT THE VILLAGE CENTRE IN THE NEW PASTURELANDS

Photographs by K. Nickul, April, 1949



pieces. Between the conditions encountered by the evacuees on their return and the standards associated with the brisk economic life of Finland in 1939 there is still a long road to travel. Normally Lapps are not badly off, but many became impoverished during evacuation, through losses not covered by war-damage compensation and through buying food supplies on the 'black market,' as did most Finns. For those who had lost all their reindeer the natural way to recovery was through fishing, but fishing implements were lacking at first.

Assistance came, however, from several directions. U.N.R.R.A., as part of its very extensive help to North Finland, provided the Lapps with fishing nets and other equipment. The International Red Cross, the Quakers and the Salvation Army also included the Lapps in their beneficent work in Finland. The Swedish European Relief (Europahjälpen) contributed F.M. 2,000,000 towards the purchase of reindeer for the Skolts. Ernst Manker (Curator of the Lapp Section, Northern Museum, Stockholm) organized a collection among Swedish Lapps which bought one good lasso for each Finnish Lapp reindeer-herder, an invaluable gift, since the make-do lassos of paper rope were proving very unsatisfactory. In England the equivalent of over F.M. 3,000,000 has been raised by the Skolt Lapp Relief Fund,<sup>5</sup> launched by the Swiss author Robert Crottet, who visited the Skolts in 1938-39, 1947 and 1948, and has aroused widespread interest by his writings, lectures and broadcasts. Since 1938 the Skolts have had a good friend in Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, Cambridge ethnographer, a member of the Fund Committee. The English actress Flora Robson was decorated with the Order *Pro Benignitate Humana* by the Finnish Government in 1949 for a highly successful broadcast on behalf of these displaced Lapps. The generous contribution from Britain has been used mainly to buy reindeer and fishing equipment, but also precious nails for the 16-km. fence round such parts of the 200 sq. km. of new summer pastureland as are not bounded by lakes (see fig. 3), this precaution being necessary until the purchased reindeer reorient their homing instinct. Towards the new Orthodox chapel F.M. 200,000 have also been set aside from the British fund and small grants have been given to a few Skolts in exceptionally distressed circumstances.

The Finnish Government has meanwhile done much for Lappish rehabilitation. Assigning the Skolts an area suited to their needs proved a very difficult problem, but after a short period in unsatisfactory surroundings a solution was found in 1947. The majority, the Suenjel Skolts, now live north-east of Inari (see map, fig. 1). In this wilderness the State has built more than 50 houses (each with separate storehouses and sheep pen) for the Skolts (see fig. 2), and the total budget is about F.M. 60,000,000. Even if the lakes do not offer fishing comparable to that in the Skolts' former territory, the lichen pastures are excellent and constitute a reliable basis for Lapp economic life. The State is also meeting the cost of a school and a small hospital. The first community meeting was held in the new Skolt centre in April, 1949 (see fig. 4).

In conclusion, I would point out that the Lapps of Finland are not a dying race. Thanks to better health measures their numbers have, on the contrary, recently increased faster than before and can be expected to rise considerably. Opportunities for exploiting their territory have nevertheless been much circumscribed through the influx of Finns, especially since the war, as a large proportion of those who had lived in the ceded Petsamo region sought out the northernmost provinces of Finland for their new homes. This has increased the Lapps' anxiety about their people's future and, in consultation with the Society for the Promotion of Lappish Culture, a Lapp deputation visited Helsinki in May, 1947,<sup>6</sup> to place the Lapps' views before the President and the Government. They were well received, and results have followed. On February 3,

1949, the Government set up a State Commission<sup>7</sup> charged with suggesting official measures to safeguard the cultural and economic future of the Finnish Lapps.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The (1949) State Commission on the Lapps defines a Finnish Lapp as a person who speaks Lappish and one of whose parents also speaks, or spoke, Lappish at home. On this basis I have made investigations which yield an estimate (for 1 January, 1949) of 2,446 Lapps in Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and Sodankylä (which form their territory proper). A further 83 are known of in other areas, but as some of these hardly regard themselves as Lapps, the number 2,500 gives perhaps the fairest impression of their present strength.

Some 1,509 persons may be classified as Mountain Lapps in the four provinces mentioned, speaking a dialect similar to that of the Swedish Karesuando Lapps, and 543 as Fishing Lapps of Inari, speaking East Lappish, while 394 are Skolts, now resettled in Inari, speaking a dialect of their own and belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church.

<sup>2</sup> Although only 166 (in Enontekiö) are today true nomads, the herders are always moving with their reindeer to new pastures.

<sup>3</sup> Founded in 1932, the Society has grown to a membership of about 750 (including 90 Lapps) and issues a series of publications in Finnish and Lappish and a periodical in Lappish, *Sábmelaš* (quarterly from 1934, six numbers yearly from 1947; editor Dr. Erkki Itkonen, Lecturer in Finno-Ugrian Linguistic Research at Helsinki University). The Chairman is Professor Jaakko Keränen (Director of the Central Meteorological Institute), and the Secretary Mag. Karl Nickul (geodesist), Länsitie 32 A 19, Helsinki. On the Council of the Society's branch at Ivalo half the members are Lapps.

<sup>4</sup> Chairman Antti Outakoski (retired schoolteacher), Secretary Juhani Nuorgam, Inari. The League has arranged for broadcasts in Lappish from Oulu (Uleåborg) radio station, consisting of news (15 minutes weekly) and religious services (monthly). [It is learned that Outakoski died on 16 April, 1950, and was succeeded by Erkki Jomppanen (see note 7).—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> From its formal inauguration (7 February, 1947) until October, 1949, the chairman of the Fund was the French scholar Professor Denis Saurat, now succeeded by Mr. G. Hutchison, editor and publisher. The Secretary is Mr. Crottet and the Hon. Treasurer Mr. Peter Rainsford (18, Girdlers Road, London, W.14). Besides £5,500 raised in England (up to January, 1949), Mr. Crottet has collected contributions in Switzerland, during and after the war.

<sup>6</sup> See *Samfolkets Egen Tidning* (Uppsala), 1947, No. 3, and 'Lappish Crisis,' *Finlandia Pictorial*, suppl. to *Suomen Kuvalehti*, Vol. III, No. 41, 9 October, 1948.

<sup>7</sup> Chairman Vicehäradsbövding Ilmari Itkonen, Oulu (Uleåborg), Secretary Karl Nickul. Half of the members of the Commission are Lapps: Oula Aikio (reindeer-herder), Erkki Jomppanen (reindeer-herder and businessman) and Antti Outakoski, and for their convenience meetings have been held in Inari and Oulu. The Commission's Report is expected to be ready in the spring of 1951.

#### XIVth International Congress of Sociology: Rome, 1950.

*Communicated by Sir John Myres*

**71** The XIVth International Congress of Sociology will be held in Rome early in September, 1950. It was convened for Bucharest in 1939 but could not be held, though five volumes of its proceedings were issued by the Rumanian Organizing Committee. The Congress at Rome will continue that session, with the same topics on the agenda, together with others approved by the Organizing Committee, and entrusted to specialist *rappor-teurs*. Other subjects may be proposed only by leave of the Committee.

Communications will be accepted until 30 June, 1950, in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese or Spanish, and should be accompanied by a summary in English, French or Italian. Political and religious controversies are excluded.



The Congress fee is fixed at 3,000 lire, and entitles the member to a copy of the proceedings printed in Italy. The meetings will be held at the University of Rome.

Those who wish to take part in the ceremonies of the Jubilee Year of the Catholic Church may apply for a 'Pilgrim's Card' (*Tessera di Pellegrino*) to the Committee for the Holy Year in their own country.

All persons who wish for further circulars of the Congress should send their names and addresses to the President of the Organizing Committee, Professor Corrado Gini, the University, Rome.

#### Sixth International Congress for the History of Science, Amsterdam, 14-21 August, 1950

**72** Papers of possible anthropological interest submitted to the sixth International Congress for the History of Science, to be held at Amsterdam from 14 to 21 August, 1950, include: 'European weights and measures derived from ancient standards of the Middle East'; 'Quelques observations géographiques portugaises du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'Afrique Tropicale de l'Orient'; 'W. Goethe comme précurseur de la théorie de l'évolution'; 'The species concept from Ray to Darwin'; 'Causes for sterility of Greek technology'; 'Le folklore préhistorique dans la médecine populaire française'; 'Science and the development of culture'; 'The Beginning of Things,' a film on life in the Bronze Age. Section IV (History of Medicine) proposes to take as one of its themes the history of medical folklore.

Further information about the Congress may be obtained from Professor Ir. R. J. Forbes, Haringvlietstraat 1, Amsterdam-Z.

#### Dutch Anthropological News

**73** It is learned from Dr. A. J. van Bork-Feltkamp, of the Royal Institute for the Indies, Amsterdam, that the former Department of Ethnography (*Afdeling Volkenkunde*) is now known as *Afdeling Culturele en Physische Anthropologie*; Professor Dr. R. A. M. Bergman has been appointed Anthropologist to this department and Professor of Physical Anthropology in the University of Amsterdam.

The Nederlandsch Nationaal Bureau voor Anthropologie and the Nederlandsche Anthropologische Vereeniging have been amalgamated under the title *Nederlands Genootschap voor Anthropologie*.

#### Association of Social Anthropologists. Note of a meeting held on 6 and 7 January, 1950

**74** The winter meeting of the Association was held at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, on 6 and 7 January. There were present: Professor Forde, Dr. Fortes, Dr. Fortune, Professor Gluckman, Dr. Henriques,

Professor Hutton, Dr. Leach, Dr. Little, Dr. Mair, Dr. Piddington, Dr. Richards, Dr. Srinivas, Dr. Stanner. Mr. J. A. Barnes and Mr. Clyde Mitchell were invited to join the Association. Dr. Leach opened a discussion on 'The Relevance of History to Social Anthropology.' It was decided to hold the next meeting at Birmingham in August, immediately before the meeting of the British Association. Dr. R. F. Fortune will introduce a discussion at this meeting of the A.S.A.

#### The New International Directory

**75** The Hon. Editor of MAN learns that the third edition of the *International Directory of Anthropologists*, prepared under the auspices of the Committee on International Relations in Anthropology of the American Anthropological Association and the Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, is now forthcoming, and may in fact appear before this note. As many British anthropologists are aware, Professor Herskovits and his colleagues have spared no pains to make this edition comprehensive, and it is assured of a very warm welcome, especially in view of the great expansion of anthropological studies since the second edition appeared in 1940. The price is three dollars, and orders for copies not already subscribed for should be addressed to the Secretary, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, Washington 21, D.C., U.S.A.

#### Fieldwork Register of British Archaeology

**76** The Fieldwork Register formerly maintained by the University of London Institute of Archaeology has been taken over by the Council for British Archaeology, and its scope is expanded to include the whole country. A monthly Calendar of Excavations, which supplies up-to-date information on excavations planned or in progress, is sent to volunteers for an annual fee of 2s. 6d. It is hoped that this register, besides being useful to archaeologists who may need voluntary labour, will help to provide an outlet for the energies of the increasing number of people who wish to take part in such work. Archaeologists who are planning excavations are asked to communicate with the Assistant Secretary of the Council at 74, Onslow Gardens, London, S.W.7.

#### The Prehistoric and Sussex Archaeological Societies: Joint Meeting

**77** A joint meeting of the Prehistoric Society and the Sussex Archaeological Society will be held, at the invitation of the latter, at Brighton from 22 to 25 September, 1950. It will be concerned with the archaeology of Sussex. Information may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary of the Prehistoric Society, Mr. T. G. E. Powell, M.A., F.S.A., Department of Prehistoric Archaeology, The University, Liverpool, 3.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**Mankind So Far.** By William Howells. London (Sigma Books), 1947. Pp. xii, 219, with illustrations and end maps. Price 16s.

**78** This is a brightly written series of essays covering the story of early men. It starts with a short note on vertebrate and on mammalian characters and then reviews the anthropoids. The account of the discoveries in Java is a lively one, but his discussion and illustrations might have been improved by more reference to Solo. He votes for the view that makes the Piltdown skull and jaw belong to the same person, and he does so on the

ground of the indications furnished by the subsequent (1915) discovery of the tooth and skull fragments about two miles away, as is well known. One welcomes his recognition of the fact that *Homo sapiens* in the Upper Palaeolithic shows considerable differences, ranging, as Morant has said, as widely as many modern populations. Howells draws special attention to contrasts between the Cro-Magnon and the Combe Capelle skulls and skeletons.

The last 100 or more pages talk about the peoples of the present-day world and their evolution. Again there is much bright and



forthright statement and a good deal is stimulating. One is a little afraid that the author still clings to the idea of a Negro Race and so on, that is to groups divided off and thenceforth distinct. He perhaps does not sufficiently allow for the view that the histories of skin character, hair type, nose form, head and face measurements may be very diverse.

H. J. FLEURE

**The Heathens.** By William Howells. New York (Doubleday), 1948. Pp. 306. Price \$3.75

**79** This is a brilliant description of the religion of primitive man. The author of *Mankind So Far* gives one of the sanest succinct accounts of primitive religion in its various aspects that I remember to have read. After two short introductory chapters on the nature of religion he deals, in thirteen more, with *mana* and *tabu*, magic, divination, medicine, witchcraft, shamanism, the next world, souls, ancestor-worship, totemism, demons, gods, and ritual, to conclude with illustrations of how religions come and go and a final brief chapter (17) on origins and conclusions. The book is very lightly written, not without touches of sardonic humour, and eminently readable, but it is none the less solidly thought out and thoroughly sound, a proper volume to sit in any anthropological beginner's library or on the shelves of any layman whose tastes lie in that direction. If it be permissible to criticize so admirable a conspectus, one might complain that not enough emphasis has been given to the South-East Asian and Indonesian theory of 'soul stuff.' For it is in such a concrete conception of life as a finite supply of limited matter that much if not all primitive philosophy of life and death must start. All philosophies, says Schopenhauer, begin in the contemplation of death; and no empirical description of death could be given in primitive language without the use of concrete terms, a limitation of no little significance in savage philosophies. Dr. Howells, however, repudiates all attempts to reconstruct the early phases of religion, of which he says that no reconstruction can be justified. Religion, he holds, is 'something indispensable in primitive life,' something which resolves conflicts, unifies environment and so 'rounds out the teachings of existence whether these are material or social.' Animism he regards as 'an attitude' rather than a belief—'a willingness to accept things in nature as having human reactions thinking up an explanation afterward rather than beforehand.' Obviously such an attitude must precede the explanation, or such an explanation would be precluded, and equally obviously the attitude is innate since it is typical of all children, but it does not explain the formation of the concept of a spirit or a god or a ghost. Dr. Howells seems inclined to explain conceptional behaviour (e.g. that of Australian mourning) as explicable by the psychological necessity for emotional release. No doubt psychological satisfaction can be obtained from a custom, but though it may dictate the choice of concepts formed by the mind, it is quite another thing to suppose that the need for psychological comfort can initiate the formation of a concept. Similarly while the effect of a belief in demons or witches may be to afford a useful means of social self-control, it cannot be supposed that the necessity for self-control engenders the shape of the belief which it utilizes. Further, when Dr. Howells states categorically that 'primitive people do not confuse gods with images . . . any more than Catholics do,' one cannot help feeling that he may conceivably be just failing in his attempt to think in terms of the uninstructed mind. There is very little doubt about the confusion which may exist in a primitive mind between a personality and a name, and confused thinking about a personality and an idol is perhaps even easier.

There is a useful index, eight pages of appropriate illustrations, and, lining the covers, a map of the world which shows the rough location of peoples used to illustrate the theme of this admirable work.

J. H. HUTTON

**Psycho-analysis and the Social Sciences, Vol. I. An Annual,** edited by Géza Róheim. New York (Internat. Univ. Press), 1947. Pp. 427. Price \$7.50

**80** In the preface to this book, the editor reviews the influence of psycho-analysis on anthropologists during the past thirty years, and apart from a few notable exceptions finds that anthropologists use psycho-analytic terms without understanding

their meaning. He hopes for further progress in the future; however, it is difficult to see how this progress is to be brought about, for to understand 'psycho-analytic anthropology' he considers the anthropologist must not only be analysed but should have experience of analytic practice. But perhaps he envisages 'psycho-analytic anthropology' as an esoteric branch written by a few for the less, for he says that 'nobody can understand what it is all about without having been analysed.' However, it is reasonable to suggest that it is not beyond the wit of anthropologists to understand the general principles of psycho-analysis, and this should guide them to make observations that they might otherwise neglect, although they may be unable to analyse the results in a correct Freudian manner. Already Freud's theories have stimulated much valuable observation, especially on infant and child behaviour.

Clyde Kluckhohn contributes a short article on 'Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood.' It is the result of a most painstaking investigation with seventeen collaborators, undertaken in successive periods, visiting the same Navaho village and observing the same children from birth onwards at yearly intervals. Navaho infants suffer a minimum of unnecessary frustration: they are fed when they cry for food, sleep when they like and all training is gentle; there is no interference with infantile sexuality. Yet later, fears and distortion emerge similar to those of children in more restricting societies. Kluckhohn suggests that 'psycho-analysis may have placed undue emphasis on the results of infant training. The mere fact that the infant is helpless and yet dependent in respect of his parents may be sufficient basis for the distortion in the unconscious projections of his parents which seem to form a common substratum in the folklore of all peoples.'

Róheim's contribution, 'Dream Analysis and Fieldwork,' is based on his own fieldwork. He records fourteen dreams of one informant and seven of another. He shows how free association to the dreams supplemented other anthropological methods, and brought to light data that might otherwise have been neglected. It is not surprising that his analysis gives prominence to the Oedipus complex, though his investigation was among matrilineal peoples.

The section on Japanese character by Hermann M. Spitzer is based on literature and data from other fieldworkers. Psycho-analysis, he states, 'studies human personality as a result of a never-ending series of conflicts.' Behaviour is dictated by compromises on the heuristic principle between the needs of the ego, id and superego, the three parts which make up the human personality. Three Japanese traits seen in the conduct of the war are subjected to analytic examination: the Japanese readiness to die rather than surrender, the nature of their cruelty and their concept of sincerity. Japanese training and education are reviewed briefly. It is considered that weaning, though rather late, is a severe trauma. Infantile and childish aggression is unchecked until school age; but thence until the age of retirement at 60 the Japanese must bow to authority. Competition in school is not encouraged; in contests all are given prizes. This results in a weak ego; the Japanese learn to accept ills and become masochists. Other psycho-analytic reasons for suicide are still less easy to understand. The inability to return home if one is disgraced in the view of the social hierarchy is a well known fact in Japanese history and literature; culturally suicide has been considered honourable and surrender disgraceful. It is difficult, therefore, to see why Dr. Spitzer considers surrender an 'unconscious' denial of the Japanese system of society.

The psycho-analytic reasons for a recrudescence of cruelty and the attitude of sincerity to the Emperor while acting deceitfully to the foreigner do not seem more convincing. Yet even unanalysed people, who fail to appreciate the important correlation of the eating of cold food and the habitual hot bath with Japanese character-formation, may agree with some of the practical conclusions that the author reaches from his method. Certainly with the Meiji restoration the Japanese shut off older methods of dealing with aggression and gave themselves a very difficult task in modernization, while emphasizing the divinity of the Emperor in education.

In 'Notes on the Primal Horde' two Jewish rituals and one game are described by Dr. Feldman and given psycho-analytical examination. The legend in *Totem and Tabu* of the primal horde is seen re-enacted and the Oedipus complex is seen as the basis of all three



performances. Anthropologists will agree with Feldman's statement that instinctual needs have not differed from primæval times. The corollary, however, that 'the rituals of mankind at the present time have the same psychogenesis as the rituals following the traumatic events to which primeval man was subjected' solves no problems for the anthropologist as it ignores the fact that man is a social animal. It is curious that throughout this article it is assumed that the monogamous social family of today, as well as other existent forms of the social family, are all equivalent to the hypothetical 'primal horde.' From the above statement it would appear that only the traumatic frustration of instinctual needs gives rise to ritual. This theory could be substantiated by considering all ritual connected with procuring food, hunting, agriculture, rain, etc., as due to the trauma of being deprived of mother's milk; while those concerning marriage, fertility, etc., could be traced to the Œdipus situation. I do not intend to suggest that by means of the processes of identification, displacement and symbolism this cannot be done, for it has been done in various articles in this book; except that Feldman traces firstfruits ritual to the Œdipus situation, not to oral frustration, and in other articles in this book hunting, war and death rituals are traced to the same source. But I do suggest that while the psycho-analytic method insists on finding such generalized causation, it cannot be of much use to the anthropologist, who recognizes the emotional value of ritual to the participants, but whose problem is to correlate particular rituals with the society in which they are enacted. What help is it to him that any or all patterns of behaviour are associated with infant feeding and childish jealousy? What light can be shed on literature, either to reader or writer, to know that all writers suffer from oral frustration, i.e. antagonism to the mother? (Dr. Bergler). Or what hope is there for improvement in racial relations if Negro lynching is due to the universal Œdipus complex? Dr. Sterba hopes such acts may actually bring progress, for the guilt after the murder of the father was the starting point of culture in the Primal Horde. It would be disappointing to conclude that the study of the unconscious, so brilliantly initiated by Freud, has thrown so little light on the social sciences as a perusal of this volume suggests.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

**Das Mutterrecht.** By J. J. Bachofen, edited by Karl Meuli with the assistance of Harald Fuchs, Gustav Meyer and Karl Schefold. Basel (Benno Schwabe), 1948. 2 vols., pp. 1,176 (continuous), 9 plates at end of Vol. 2. (Also issued simultaneously as Vols. 2 and 3 of Bachofen's *Collected Works*.) Price 65.00 Swiss Frs.

There have been only two previous issues of this anthropological classic, in 1861 and 1897, and in both the typography and general condition of the text were deplorable. The present version is typographically beautiful; the text throughout has been corrected against the original manuscript; footnote references have been checked and elaborated. These two volumes, however, are for

library shelves rather than for the general reader. The only critical comment is to be found on pp. 1,109-1,117, where the editor takes some note of the influence of the book upon Bachofen's contemporaries and his successors. The original text takes up 1,010 pages. The balance consists of an essay by the editor reviewing Bachofen's life and work, the circumstances surrounding the writing of *Das Mutterrecht* and the textual defects of earlier editions.

E. R. LEACH

**The Feminine Character: History of an Ideology.** By Viola Klein. London (Kegan Paul), 1946. Pp. 228, bibl., Appendix. Price 12s. 6d.

Feminism, one may say militant feminism, is the basis of this study. The early sections are an analysis of the work of a number of writers on woman, covering roughly the past two or three generations and treated, with some temerity, less from the position as stated in the title than from that of the personality of the author. The touchstone in assessing personality is her experience of and attitude towards womanhood as the convinced feminist sees it. The interest of this method is great, but the critic sees a source of error.

There follows a study of the gradual appearance of an ideal of sex equality, and of the emancipation of women, as the struggle has been called which would give to women an entry into the professions and labours of men as well as assuring to them an equal legal and financial status. This fact, while it does not omit the familiar names, introduces us to less known social reformers who played an important part in influencing public opinion and family outlook. It seems regrettable that the more subtle effects of work like that of Josephine Butler find no place in the author's purview.

This historical fact leads up to a discussion of recent investigations, namely the psychological studies of Terman and Cox, of Helen Bradford Thompson in Chicago, and of Margaret Mead.

C. B. S. HODSON

**Chapters in Western Civilization.** Selected and edited by the Contemporary Civilization Staff of Columbia College, Columbia University. Columbia Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1948. 2 vols., pp. ix, 437 and ii, 299. Price 14s. each vol.

Many hands have prepared this two-volume textbook for the students of the contemporary civilization course at Columbia University. The twenty chapters attempt to cover the development of human institutions, political, economic, religious and intellectual, within the time span from Athenian democracy to Soviet communism. Inevitably perhaps it has most of the defects common to student's guides, in particular a tendency to make definite statements on matters that are still uncertain. Supplemented by lectures and by readings there recommended (neither bibliography nor footnotes accompany the text) it could fulfil its purpose admirably, but for the general reader there is little to recommend it.

J. M. MOGEY

## AFRICA

**The Sorcerer's Apprentice.** By Elspeth Huxley. London (Chatto & Windus), 1948. Pp. xiii, 366. Price 18s.

Mrs. Huxley disarmingly warns her readers that this is the record of a hurried journey in which 'I missed out far more than I was able to see.' All the same, she turned her four months in the four East African territories to good account, and her gift of catching the visual impression gives her book a distinction that few of its type attain. Like all students of the colonial world, she is concerned with the race against time—not only in laying the foundations for independence, but still more in saving from destruction the soil that is the basis of life itself. Wherever she went she looked at the methods of farmers, African and European. Some of the latter show what scientific research and unremitting hard work can make of the unfriendly African soil; the former present what is in essence a political problem—how to induce them to take the action that is indispensable if they are to avoid starvation. Mrs. Huxley found depressingly many cases where de-stocking or soil-conservation

measures had been suspended, sometimes after a promising start, because of violent opposition from the natives involved.

One puts down the book with a baffled feeling because Mrs. Huxley is neither the wholly objective observer nor the avowed exponent of a point of view. Her impatience with the makers of policy is abundantly clear, but what she thinks they ought to do is much less clear, and her criticisms of 'Government' (in which she surprisingly does not include the district administration) are so many-sided that some of them cancel out. She insists on the importance of close control of African farming and sneers at those who still put their faith in propaganda when, according to her, its failure is apparent: yet on another page she writes: 'It has yet to be shown that you can apply compulsion in the face of public resistance or apathy without resort to strong-arm methods which, having condemned so roundly in others, we could scarcely use ourselves' (p. 167).

Her final conclusion is that contact with the West, whatever it



may have done for the African, has failed to strengthen him in 'virtue and self-discipline.' Again it is not clear whether this is a criticism or a statement of fact; as an isolated pronouncement it illuminates little.

L. P. MAIR

**Contribuição Para o Estudo da Antropologia de Moçambique: Algumas Tribos do District de Tete.** By J. R. Dos Santos, Jr. *República Portuguesa, Memórias: Série Antropológica e Etnológica*, Vol. II. Porto (Typografia Mendonça), 1944. Pp. 416, 73 plates, 12 tables

This large work is accompanied by 44 pages of summaries in French and in English. The author has studied eight Zambezi groups of the Tete area, each of which is composite. Among the Nhingüese some people are tall, muscular and well balanced, with lozenge-shaped faces, yellowish or pearl-white sclerotic and broad forehead. There is also a shorter, rougher type with strong bones and more marked prognathism, and generally a suggestion of kinship with Bushmen. The Chicundas, probably partly descended from the Nhingüese, have hints of a connexion with the Boskop or Hottentot type of Prof. Dart. Averages for Nhingüese and Antumbas give statures of nearly 168 and 165 cm., and average

cephalic indices of 72.30 and 73.65, with nasal indices 96.60 and 96.79. The map of prehistoric finds in Mozambique is interesting. Measurements of individuals are tabulated and the work is richly illustrated.

H. J. FLEURE

**Traits of the Divine Kingship in Africa.** By P. Hadfield. London (Watts), 1949. Pp. vii, 134. Price 8s. 6d.

86 Mr. Hadfield's examination of traits of divine kingship in ancient Egypt and Africa brings forward little fresh information on the subject. Indeed, his own words may be quoted: 'In dealing with the origin of divine kingship in Egypt and among African tribes we are left largely in the realm of conjecture.' Yet he indulges in such conjecture, especially in a short chapter on 'The King and the Moon.'

It may seem ungracious to refer to misprints in a book in which so many authors are quoted; misspellings may not generally be of much importance, but when 'Nuer' is in one paragraph correctly used to refer to the people of that name, and in the following one is a misprint for Nuba, the result is misleading.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

## AMERICA

**Arqueologia Agustiniiana.** By José Pérez de Barradas. Bogotá (Imprenta Nacional), 1943. Pp. x, 169, 189 plates, 176 figs.

87 We have recently received this massive work from the Instituto Etnológico at Bogotá, which is under the control of the Colombian Ministry of Education. It describes reconnaissance and excavation carried out by the author on behalf of the government in 1937. It contains a very large number of photographs, some of them detailed, of the statues and other sculptures of San Agustín, including the notable carvings in the river bed at Lavapatas, but it appears that the method of reproduction scarcely does them justice. San Agustín has always constituted a problem, since its stone carvings are an isolated phenomenon in spite of all efforts to connect them with other South American centres of stone-working, namely Tiahuanaco, Chavín and Marabí. This work does not solve the main difficulty, but it gives indications that it may be possible to establish some sort of cultural succession in the neighbourhood, based on more solid grounds than the typological series of stone carvings postulated in the book. The author describes two levels, containing different types of pottery, in a mound containing the remains of a 'megalithic' shrine or temple, but the significance of this will not be clear until the pottery, particularly that of the upper level, has been more fully illustrated and described, and further examples of stratification found. It seems that this and other mounds are connected with the stone carvings and with burials in rectangular stone cists. Another type of grave was found, namely a vertical shaft with a lateral chamber or chambers sealed with flagstones, at the bottom; but it is not at all clear what relation in time (or space) these have with the carvings and mounds. It is not possible from the drawings to determine how closely the pottery from these graves is related to that from the mounds, but for the most part it appears to be different.

Sr. Pérez de Barradas was instrumental in setting aside a building as a museum and in getting some of the principal carvings and their surroundings declared national property, but he complains that this has not availed to save some of the carvings at Lavapatas from serious deterioration due to weathering and casual damage.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

**Cronica Mexicana.** By H. Alvarado Tezozomoc, edited and with notes by Manuel Orozco y Berra. Mexico (Editorial Leyenda, S.A.), 1944. Pp. 345

88 Tezozomoc, a Mexican nobleman, wrote his history in 1598, two generations after the conquest. It is a straightforward account of the history of the Aztecs from their own point of view, and compares with the work done for Tezcuco by Ixtlilxóchitl and for Tlascala by Camargo. Tezozomoc betrays some confusion about the religion of his ancestors. He had, however, the assistance of painted historical codices which no longer survive. The first part of the work seems to

derive from a document not unlike Codex Boturini, but with a complete representation of Huitzilopochtli; the later chapters give lists of tributes from conquered cities, prisoners taken, names of war-captains, etc., in a manner reminiscent of the document of which a copy survives in Codex Mendoza. Much is added from traditions too complex to have been in codices (at least as we know them). There is the dramatic account of the war with Tlatelolco; and the descriptions of the ceremonies of burial and coronation of the great chiefs of the Mexicans.

The notes added by Manuel Orozco y Berra give additional value to this critical edition of a most important history. One wishes that the publishers could have included a short biographical notice of the author. A full modern index would have helped the research worker, and the ordinary reader would be greatly aided by a map like that published by Barlow in Vol. XXXVI of the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*.

C. A. BURLAND

**Arts de l'Amérique.** By Raoul d'Harcourt. Paris (Editions du Chêne), 1948. Pp. 199, illustrations

89 We are told what is known or believed about the history of each region of pre-Columbian America, and given a general survey of its culture and arts. All this is very well and readably done. The book is illustrated with 160 photographs by Emmanuel Sougez of the Musée de l'Homme. The photographs are excellent in themselves, but less well related to the text than those in the volume on Oceania in the same series. It should be added that the paper, printing and binding of both these books are such as in these days of austerity we seldom or never see in this country.

RAGLAN

**The Uttermost Part of the Earth.** By E. Lucas Bridges. London (Hodder & Stoughton), 1948. Pp. 558, 97 illus., 5 maps. Price 30s.

90 Mr. E. Lucas Bridges' account of his father's and his own life in Tierra del Fuego is a remarkable record of indomitable pioneer work. From 1871 onward, the Bridges family continued to break fresh ground, found new settlements and make further contacts with the Fuegians, surmounting the formidable difficulties inherent in the climate and the geography of the country.

For the observations on natural history and as a story of human endeavour the book is fascinating enough, but anthropologists will be grateful for information of the little known Fuegian tribes from such a faithful and sympathetic observer. Darwin on the voyage of the *Beagle* recorded that the Fuegians were cannibals. From a very tainted source, he accepted the story that when food was scarce in the winter they ate their women; he felt 'quite a disgust at the very sound of the voices of these miserable savages' (*Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle*, ed. Nora Barlow, letter 15, p. 81). Although



he had been very anxious to see them, '... an untamed savage is I really think one of the most extraordinary spectacles in the world: the difference between a domesticated and wild animal is far more strikingly marked in Man: in the naked barbarian, with his body coated with paint, whose very gestures, whether they may be peaceable or hostile, are unintelligible, with difficulty we see a fellow creature. No drawing or description will at all explain the extreme interest which is created by the first sight of savages.'

As a child Bridges learned the Yahgan language, went boating, fishing and hunting with them; he came to know them intimately and to understand their way of life and both their weak and their good points. He found no evidence that they were, or ever had been, cannibals. The Bridges made their first settlement in Yahgan country in 1871. In Darwin's time they were said to number 3,000, in 1884 about 1,000, and in 1908 only 43. Bridges senior, in spare time from his mission and settlement work, made an exhaustive dictionary of the Yahgan language; the history of that MS., which eventually ended in the British Museum in 1946, forms a saga in itself. The young Bridges farmed, explored and hunted; facts about the Yahgan are mentioned casually. Their social organization will never be known. Vendettas were frequent and deadly; the Yahgan had a habit of bending his opponent's neck and breaking it; the opposing parties painted their bodies in distinctive designs. Young men were in the habit of marrying elderly women, and older men married the young women.

The Yahgans lived in fear of the Ona, an inland tribe of giants (the Yahgans were short, measuring four feet eight inches to five feet five inches, while among the Ona men well over six feet were not uncommon, and six feet seemed a usual height). Bridges was determined to get to know the Ona, both for the sake of making new friends among them and to prevent their exploitation by Europeans. To do this involved exploration of uncharted mountains, arduous hunting expeditions and eventually laying a track nearly 100 miles long, crossing numerous mountain passes and torrents and founding a new farm and dwelling.

Life with the Ona, a vigorous, independent people, was full of adventure. All Mr. Bridges tells us of them makes one want to know more—one is still left guessing as to their social structure. There were no hereditary or appointed chiefs, but people with any special ability were unofficially accepted as leaders. Though marriage by betrothal among young people was traditional, and one such is recorded, marriage by capture was so common as to be habitual. This was no mere ceremonial: wife-stealing seemed to be the usual motive of raids, in which men would be killed and vendettas started, leading to counter-raids, ambushes and the capture of other wives. After a number of killings, one peace-making in traditional style is recorded in detail. Raiding and counter-raiding had been going on to such an extent that Bridges feared the tribe would exterminate itself, and it was during his efforts to make the Ona see the madness of killing one another that he discovered that an ancient ritual existed, and persuaded the Ona to revive it. After this, a long period followed when jealousies seemed to be forgotten, and Bridges moved freely about among the various groups of his Ona friends. Some time after the peace ceremony another ceremony was held, in which Bridges was initiated into Ona society. This ritual also is described in detail.

Bridges' own upbringing makes him look upon religion and superstitions as in quite different categories: 'I wondered sometimes whether these strange appearances might be the remains of a dying religion, but came to the conclusion that this could not be so. There was no vestige of any legend to suggest that any of these creatures impersonated by the Indians had ever walked the earth in any form but fantasy.' However, this attitude, which allows him to state that the Yahgan and Ona have no religion, does not prevent him from describing their beliefs and rituals whenever he comes across them, though he may regard the latter as theatrical. He records and respects their manners and conventional modes of behaviour; incidentally, appreciating the respect and avoidance shown to in-laws, in this case between son-in-law and father-in-law. Above all he sees the Fuegians as individuals.

Although the anthropologist will regret that one so naturally gifted and opportunely situated lacked the technical training to

make a scientific record of Fuegian culture, and that such a magnificent opportunity has been lost, he will be grateful to learn much about the actual personalities of those 'naked barbarians' with bodies 'coated with paint' whom Darwin saw in 1833. The book must be read to be appreciated. BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

**Art and Life in Ancient Mexico.** By C. A. Burland. Bruno Cassirer, Oxford (distributed by Faber & Faber), 1948. Pp. 112, illus. Price 16s.

91 To those in this country who are lovers of Mexico and who are interested in her ancient cultures a fresh contribution to the subject published in England is very welcome. It reminds us that the great tradition of English scholarship connected with these matters and so ably represented by Maudslay, Joyce and James Cooper Clark is not entirely dead, though we may lay claim to the brilliant work of J. Eric Thompson who, however, works and publishes in the United States.

Mr. Burland gives an account of some of the main cultures of pre-Hispanic Mexico, together with a certain amount of information concerning the Archaic, the Colima and Tarascan cultures, and the fossil man of Tepixpan, which is still mainly unfamiliar in this country. The book is well illustrated and contains many pictures of objects which became known to the public for the first time at the exhibition of the Berkeley Galleries in 1947. Unfortunately, though there are passing references to the Mayas, the author does not devote any section of his work to the very important culture of that people. To the uninitiated the arrangement of the subject-matter may prove to be somewhat confusing, as the various peoples—the Olmecas, Xicalancos, Teotihuacanos, Toltecs and Totonacs—are made to wander about rather at random. The whole question of Mexican peoples is so complicated that it is doubtful whether it can be made adequately coherent in the compass allotted to it in this book. The selection of certain details is somewhat perplexing when other and highly interesting matter is omitted. For instance, it would have been of greater interest to the general reader to be told about Tloque Nahuaque than about Tepeyollotl, and some account of Cholula ceramics would have been welcome.

It would appear that the author relies too much on Ixtlilxóchitl and insufficiently on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* for his information on the Toltecs. There are certain questions in this book which are open to the challenge of contradiction and others are still open to doubt. The field of Mexican archaeology is wide and complex; fresh discoveries which are being constantly made modify existing theories. It would not seem that Mr. Burland is always fully aware of some of the more recent investigations. Of course, no one today would maintain that there was any relationship between the culture of Teotihuacan and that of the Toltecs, nor would this have been maintained by Vaillant in his last years. This important point is not made sufficiently clear, and we find the writer of the foreword describing a toy as Toltec when it is in fact mentioned by Mr. Burland as Teotihuacano. On page 42 the author says, 'strange as it may seem these peoples were just beginning to use metals in Teotihuacano times when in Europe Rome had already fallen.' Now no metal objects of any sort belonging to any period of Teotihuacano culture have ever been discovered. Linné is most explicit on this point. On page 11 the author gives an illustration which he describes as being of the Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacan. Surely the evidence and arguments adduced by Pedro Armillas in the *Anales del Instituto de Etnología Americana*, Universidad de Cuyo, Tome VI, 1945, make it difficult to connect this temple or even anything at Teotihuacan with Quetzalcoatl. Whether or not the author is referring to this temple on page 32 is not quite clear, but there is certainly no temple at Teotihuacan sculptured around 'all its sides' with representations of rain serpent and wind serpent.

Apropos of the illustrations: the date (on page 12) of the main stairway at Tenayuca, which belongs to the eighth period of construction, must lie between A.D. 1450 and 1500. Mr. Burland accepts unquestioningly the old idea that the wheel and potter's wheel were totally unknown to the ancient Mexicans, though he does quote the example of a Teotihuacano toy with wheels. As a matter of fact such toys have been discovered at about half a dozen different sites, notably by M. W. Stirling at Tres Zapotes and by G. F. Ekholm in



the Huasteca. The two authoritative articles in *Cuadernos Americanos*, Volume 1, 1944, and Volume 1, 1946, leave no doubt concerning the matter of the wheel.

Several other points in this book appear to be open to doubt: are there any examples of Maya deities or indeed of any deities portrayed on Mazapan ceramics? Is there any well founded reason for supposing the foundation of Tlatelolco to be connected with the Toltecs? Does not the inclusion of the word 'poncho' in the glossary appear to be somewhat incongruous? Whatever the origin of that word may be, it is certainly not Mexican, nor is it used in Mexico. Lastly, the reader will be surprised to learn that Mexico City is within 'ringing ranges of snow-capped mountains,' whereas there are only two snow-capped mountains visible from the city, and then at a distance of some forty miles; and furthermore, that the Cathedral stands on the site once occupied by the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, whereas in reality it stands partly on the site of the Temple of the Sun, which was outside the Cōhuatēpantli, and partly on the site of the Ometochtli Tezcatzoncatl and other

buildings. The occurrence of some of these errors is no doubt due to the serious break in contacts caused by the war, when many important publications did not reach this country. It is even to be believed that our libraries have not been able to make good this deficiency.

The clearest and best presented section of Mr. Burland's book is that which deals with Aztec writing and the Calendrical System. The glossary and bibliography are useful, though it is a pity that in the latter no mention is made of three fundamental works: the *Codice Chimalpopoca* (*Anales de Cuauhtitlan*), Imprenta Universitaria, Mexico, 1945; the comprehensive and authoritative *Arte Precolombino de Mexico*, by Salvador Toscano, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Mexico, 1944; and lastly the *Arte Precolombiano Mexicano y Maya*, by Jose Pijoan, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1946.

Undoubtedly the reader who is anxious to become acquainted with some aspects of the cultures of ancient Mexico will find abundant matter for thought in Mr. Burland's book, which may well serve as a stimulus for further interest. IRWIN BULLOCK

## ASIA

### Asiatic Art in Private Collections of Holland and Belgium.

By H. F. E. Visser. Amsterdam (De Spieghel Publishing Co.), 1947. Pp. 80, 215 plates. Price 75 florins (English price £7 10s.)

92 This volume contains 215 superb plates, about two-thirds of them illustrating art from China, India, Japan, Cambodia, Java and Tibet are also represented. From the nature of the work, it cannot be a history of Asiatic art, nor entirely representative of all the arts in any of the various cultures with which it deals, but every object shown is a fine example of its kind. One might have expected that through early connexion with the Far East, Dutch traders would have brought back at least contemporary objects to enrich present collections. This is not so; the very fine collections illustrated in this volume were all made during the present century. There is nothing from prehistoric China, but the archaic periods are richly though not fully represented. Excellent examples of most of the typical ritual bronze vessels are shown, as well as ceremonial axes and burial jades. The exquisite ivory yak from the Stoclet collection is unique; both its provenance and date are uncertain, but it is catalogued as Chinese or Central Asian not later than Sung. Of non-Chinese objects, probably the most remarkable is the limestone Krishna from Southern Cambodia, also in the Stoclet collection.

Anthropologists will perhaps be most interested in the beautiful bronze mask, plate 88, belonging to M. J. Stoclet. Mr. Visser dates it as T'ang, and compares it to the gilt bronze Han mask in the collection of the Kyoto Imperial University, which was shown in the 1936 exhibition at Burlington House (no. 422), and another fragmentary mask in a Paris collection. Another gilt bronze mask of similar dimensions and similar somewhat flattened form from the Eumorfopoulos Collection is now in the British Museum, labelled Chou. The features and style of the three masks are very different. The Kyoto specimen is archaic and highly stylized, the British Museum one is again conventionalized but in the vigorous style of the later Buddhist temple guardians, while the Stoclet example has the serenity of a Bodhisattva. It is not gilded and has a green patina. All three specimens have holes at the sides. Mr. Visser considers the Stoclet and Kyoto specimens to be death masks, the holes at the sides being for attachment to the head of the corpse. The use of masks in this way presupposes mummification or some similar treatment of the corpse as in Egypt and Peru, where metal masks for the corpse were customary. From the scientific excavations that have been made in China, and the widespread plundering of graves, no records of such customs have become apparent. The scarcity of bronze masks and the abundance of other bronze grave goods found suggest that it is unlikely that these masks were used to cover the face of the corpse. Only three complete examples have been found in a period covering over 1,000 years, and there seems to be no reference to them in literature, so their use may be regarded as problematic. However, the widespread use of masks in shamanistic and ritual dances in the countries bordering on China, especially among the Tungus, is suggestive. It may be a coincidence that a

ritual mask in beaten copper from the Haida, illustrated in an article by Margaret Mead in *Natural History*, Vol. LV, No. 6, shows more resemblance to the Stoclet mask than any other that I have been able to examine. BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

### The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island.

By Cora Du Bois, with Analyses by Abram Kardiner and Emil Oberholzer. Minneapolis (University of Minnesota Press), 1944. Pp. xvi, 654, 33 plates, 14 figures. Price \$7.50

93 This book marks a phase in anthropological research. The author states that its primary object is to establish 'the relationship between people and their institutions.' The concept of basic personality structure put forward by Kardiner and Linton is examined in a village on the island of Alor. The population is predominantly Oceanic Negroid (?Papuan). Though the steep mountain country makes cultivation laborious, the food supply is sufficient, and no stories of famine are recorded. Yet the analysis of the culture lays emphasis on hunger; food comes to be linked with sex, and sex with wealth.

Four interesting chapters describe the life of the individual from infancy to adult status. Two—'Adults and Institutions' and 'Some Psychological Aspects of Religion'—are tantalizing to the anthropologist; the material is selected in accordance with the plan of the thesis of the book, but the anthropologist would appreciate a fuller account of the social and religious structure. It is clear that Dr. Du Bois has the knowledge for such an account, and it is to be hoped that she will publish it. Next comes Dr. Kardiner's analysis of the personal determinants of the Alor culture; detailed autobiographies of eight informants occupy about 300 pages, and Dr. Kardiner contributes a conclusion on them in another chapter. The last section of the book deals with Porteus Maze tests, word associations, children's drawings and Rorschach tests. Care was taken to avoid bias in the tests; the experts who analysed them knew nothing of the culture of the Alor or the work of their fellow experts. Considerable correspondence in the results is claimed, validating the soundness of the concept of basic personality character.

Alor women work in the gardens at some distance from their houses. About two weeks after the birth of a child the Alor mother resumes garden work, but she leaves her newborn infant at home where any relative or elder sibling, boy or girl, will look after it, carry it about in a carrying shawl and sometimes give it pre-masticated food. Women frequently masturbate young children to soothe them. Children are weaned when they begin to walk; then they are left more alone and suffer more from lack or irregularity of feeding than previously. Temper tantrums are very frequent. Sphincter and bladder control are taught; habits in this respect seem to be learned easily and without punishments, and there is no interference with childish sexuality. But cold baths seem to be a source of great misery and resentment. Obedience is expected and there is a



good deal of scolding, threatening and teasing, but little actual punishment; on the other hand, there is a minimum of encouragement or reward for good behaviour. Hunger and desertion are the main causes of childish distress. When about five or six years old, the child is given its first loincloth. Children are soon expected to be useful: both boys and girls take charge of younger siblings, and girls help in the gardens; boys have more freedom and go about playing or hunting, or they may attach themselves to elder men who tolerate them quite kindly.

The staple food supply comes from the women's gardens. Men hunt and keep pigs, but their main occupation is finance, undertaking elaborate transactions in the transfer of valuables, making loans and receiving interest. These transactions are chiefly concerned with provision for death feasts and for bride-price and dowry. There is no hereditary rank, but a successful financier gains much in status. He backs the marriages and death feasts of other men, and so gains power over them. Debts may take years to liquidate, and may be inherited from one generation to another; however, there is no indication that indebtedness ever leads to servitude. A man gains little material advantage from the profits he makes, as the higher his status the larger his ceremonial obligations; nor can he leave much wealth to his children, as they must use it up on death feasts, so there is no opportunity for the rise of a hereditary privileged class. It would seem that these valuables merely pass from hand to hand, and even broken gongs have their value; there is no merchant enterprise in importing new specimens.

There is much quarrelling but very little violence in Alor society. Sex antagonism is fierce, and in spite of the elaborate bride-price and dowry system divorce is frequent, and women seem very commonly to be frigid. From these customs, the autobiographies and the various tests the basic personality structure is estimated; this, however, does not imply that there are not personal deviations.

The Alor culture sacrifices adequate maternal care to other interests; the system of substitute parents only adds confusion to the situation. The independence of the individual is arrived at through frustrations, suspicion and confusion. The child has little chance to introject a parent ideal, hence to turn aggression inwards, develop a sense of guilt and a strong ego-formation. Infantile and childish attachments are too shallow and impermanent to give rise to incestuous fixations. Hatred of the frustrating mother ensues and leads the way to sex antagonisms. The lack of encouragement and rewards, the teasing and lying of adults, gives little scope for the development of self-confidence. The overt expression of aggression is feared; it takes the form of conventional verbal abuse and finds vent in financial transactions. The typical distrustful individualism discourages both leadership and co-operation. Though there is much ceremonial activity and numerous shrines, religious beliefs, including that in spirits of the dead, appear to have little influence. There seems to be no fear of death, and suicide is almost unknown. There is little resistance to illness: the sick refuse food, are given little care and soon die.

Though the examination of infantile and childish conditioning throws much light on character-formation and the attitude adopted towards institutions, it is not clear how the technique of this investigation shows the 'relationship between people and their institutions.'

The financial system and the institution of marriage involving elaborate detail in the payment of bride-wealth are both common in Indonesia. The general character of the Alor people and their culture recalls that of the Manus of the Admiralty Islands.<sup>1</sup> In both cultures adoption is common; men show more interest in and affection for

children than women; sex antagonism is accentuated; in spite of high bride-price and complicated indebtedness divorce is common. The highly developed financial system of the Manus has much in common with that of the Alor, giving similar prestige and power of exploitation. Both peoples are quarrelsome. The Manus mother gives the infant constant care till it is a year old, so that there can be little infantile food frustration; then she returns to work in the garden, and the father lavishes affection on the child, who is constantly with him. A strict discipline is employed to teach the very young child to respect private property and sacred objects; they are also taught the prudery and the physical skills demanded by the culture. Otherwise they are indulged. Obedience is demanded but never expected and seldom given; nor is there any respect shown to parents or elders. On the whole the children's behaviour, especially the boys', seems quite undisciplined. Though quite intelligent, children shown no initiative or imagination. On the other hand, in contrast to the Alor, they make great efforts to be accurate and truthful. As among the Alor, the only sanction seems to be shame: gradually they become ashamed of breaking the numerous tabus in daily life. The chief institutional difference in the cultures is that the Manus have a class system, whereas this is absent among the Alor. The ancestor cult among the Manus is important and has a direct influence on moral behaviour, while among the Alor, according to Dr. Du Bois, it is mainly ceremonial and somewhat superficial.

Margaret Mead describes the Manus children as turbulent but happy and carefree, indulged in every whim, egocentric and without affection, disciplined only in regard to property and prudery. As they become adult they are caught up in the economic and matrimonial system, and become anxious, suspicious and grasping. Childhood in the two cultures is very different, while the culture and predominant traits in character of the adults appear remarkably similar.

It may then be asked, can the frustration due to hunger and desertion suffered by Alor children really be the root of their basic personality structure? And how is it to be related to the institutions of finance and the complicated system of bride-wealth exchanges and death feasts characteristic of both Alor and Manus culture? Why, when the Manus children are pampered 'lords of creation,' the boys free from all coercion and the girls only beginning to suffer from it in late childhood, are important Manus institutions the same, their ideals, behaviour and sexual relations so similar? It is common in many cultures for garden-cultivation to be women's work, but among most peoples the infants are taken by their mothers to work. What has led both the Alor and Manus women not to do so, and to solve the problem in such different ways? The fact that women do not take their infants to the gardens is the central feature in determining the Alor basic personality character; yet we are given no clue as to how this custom came about, nor any indication of Alor opinion, male or female, on the practice. It would have been interesting to know their reactions to customs of other peoples who act differently. If this problem had been investigated, instead of the 300 pages of autobiographies, full case histories of reminiscences, dreams, quarrels and sexual relations, which must have been even more tedious to record than they are to read, more light would have been shed on the main thesis of the book.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (William Morrow, New York), 1930; R. F. Fortune, *Manus Religion* (The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia), 1935.

## OCEANIA

**The Eternal Ones of the Dream.** By Géza Róheim. New York (Internat. Univ. Press), 1945. Pp. xiii, 270, illus. Price \$4.50

94 From his intimate knowledge of Australian myth, custom and linguistics, and his own standpoint as an orthodox Freudian, Róheim is able to see Australian myth and ritual, dreams and day-dreams as a whole, against the background of the fiercely exacting environment of the Australian climate.

It is impossible here to follow the complicated rituals and their analysis, but I may refer to some of Róheim's less esoteric conclusions. Every native is himself a representative of an ancestor who figures in the myth; he suffers the same trials. The Eternal Ones had no mother, they originated themselves, their immortality is a denial of the separation anxiety (son from mother). Totemism, as a social institution, is a defence organized against the separation anxiety.



In mythical form it represents the wanderings of human beings from cradle to grave. Old and decrepit men become young again; covered with birds' down, they become identical with the immortal ancestors.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

**New Guinea Headhunt.** By Caroline Mytinger. New York (Macmillan), 1947. Pp. viii, 441, illustrated

**95** The misleading title of this book makes it a disappointment to the anthropologist, as the headhunting consists merely of the search of an artist for models. It is a brightly written book concerned with the point of view of the artist, rather than that of a scientific student, but there is naturally something to be learned from a traveller with such an observant eye. The author with her companion set out from Rabaul in a very sporting way with little money and much goodwill, and travelled in any available boat to Yela, or Rossel Island. This island is famous, or infamous, for its inhabitants' feat, in 1858, of eating their way through a cargo of Chinese coolies wrecked on an adjacent islet, where they were kept as in a sort of larder. The Yela people are reputed to be of almost pure Papuan stock and are hook-nosed, dark-skinned and morose. I might say here that I do not hold with the author's classification of

the immigrant Melanesian strain as Mongoloid, for they are generally held to be rather of Indonesian stock. From the southwestern extremity of Papua the two women found their way, with many interesting adventures, through Hula, Port Moresby, the Gulf and Fly River to Thursday Island, where the book ends. The illustrations, both half-tone and pen-and-ink sketches, are good and vigorous.

K. RISHBETH

**Arts de l'Océanie.** By Maurice Leenhardt. Paris (Editions du Chêne), 1948. Pp. 150, illustrations. Price 550 francs

**96** The author includes Indonesia in Oceania, but for reasons of space omits an account of its arts from this book, which includes the rest of the islands, Australia and Madagascar. He summarizes their cultures in so far as they affect their art, and compares the arts of the various groups. He regards the art of the islands as being Melanesian rather than Polynesian in origin, and remarks that the natives never attained the same skill in the art of sculpture in the round as did the Africans. The book is illustrated with 130 excellent and well selected photographs of objects in the Musée de l'Homme taken by Emmanuel Sougez.

RAGLAN

## CORRESPONDENCE

**A False Bolas Stone.** Cf. MAN, 1949, 94

**97** SIR,—In the final sentence of my previous contribution on *The Bolas in South Africa* I said that we had no certain evidence of the manufacture and use of bolas-type stones in South Africa in the Later Stone Age of Holocene times, implying that the 'bolas stone' ceased to be part of man's material culture after the Middle Stone Age of Upper Pleistocene times. Whilst this was a true reflection of our knowledge at the time, I recently shared in a discovery of great significance to workers in the field of prehistory in South Africa—and possibly further afield.

Under the guidance of Dr. H. Franz, the District Surgeon of the area, I visited certain ruined stone structures which probably represent the southernmost outlier of the Zimbabwe Culture, at a place known as Brodie Hill in the Pietersburg district of the Northern Transvaal. The ruins have been known for many years, and the object of my visit was to explore the need for protection and the possibility of systematic excavation. My surprise may be imagined when I picked up a perfect artificial 'bolas stone' of granite, slightly smaller than a tennis ball, on the surface of one of the artificial terraces that form the most striking feature of the ruins. I turned to Dr. Franz with the remark that someone had been throwing a 'bolas stone' about. 'Oh, no,' he said, 'that is a *kgekgeto*' (I.P.A. xəxhə:to). The *kgekgeto*, he explained, is a spheroidal or spherical hammerstone, used by native women for roughening their grindstones by pounding the grinding surfaces when they become too smooth. Unless this roughening is occasionally resorted to, both the lower and upper grindstones become too smooth for effective grinding. As I was unfamiliar with the use of such hammerstones in entirely modern times, we visited a native village at the foot of the hill and there actually saw a native woman battering her grindstone with an almost identical stone sphere. These small stone balls are part of the normal equipment of the modern native's kitchen in this area. Inside the hut were the large lower and smaller upper grindstones, and a *kgekgeto* similar to the one I had picked up on the hill. The grindstones and hammer were all of granite.

In its inception the *kgekgeto* is a well rounded, but irregularly shaped, naturally water-worn pebble about the size of one's fist, i.e. about 9 centimetres in maximum diameter. In the Northern Transvaal the pebbles selected are of quartzite, granite or dolerite. By constant use in the manner described, any ridges or high points on the pebble originally selected are gradually worn down under a manipulation which leads it ultimately to become a sphere about 6 centimetres in diameter. As it is further reduced in size, it becomes ineffective and is discarded. Its diameter then is about 5.5 centimetres—a perfect false bolas stone!

The name of the village in which I got this information is Garampuru, i.e. the village of the headman Rampuru, whose tribe is known as the Bamolese or Bakwena, i.e. of the crocodile. Although the language spoken in this area is Sepedi, the tribe forms an integral part of the Northern Sotho. They occupy an appreciable area of the Northern Transvaal, an area which is rich in remains of the Pietersburg Culture with its basic Levallois-like prepared-core technique, and artificially rounded stone balls. As these modern stone balls are of similar size, shape and material to the old, one can most easily be confused. A warning is therefore necessary, more especially as this modern practice has, so far as I am aware, not yet been recorded in South Africa.

Janmart, in 1947, recorded the entirely modern manufacture and use of similar stone balls by a Bantu-speaking tribe known as the Mucubai in Angola ('Note on the Possible Origin of the Stone Balls in Angola,' *S. Afr. Archaeol. Bull.*, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 104-5). Quoting the Curator of the Dundo Museum, he says: 'When preparing a stone slab for grinding corn, the Mucubai bangs it with a piece of hard rock not too large to be held comfortably in one hand, though heavy enough for the purpose. He thus makes the beginning of the hollow in which the women will lay the corn that is to be ground.' This usage of stone balls is not quite the same as that in the Transvaal, and it is possible that further enquiry in Angola will show that there is more in the Angolan story than has yet been recorded. Nevertheless it is extremely interesting and important to note that bolas-type stones are being made and used in at least two areas of southern Africa today.

The credit for the South African discovery is due to Dr. Franz. He had previously drawn my attention to the *kgekgeto*, but had been unable to show me one until my recent visit to the Northern Transvaal. I am deeply indebted to him not only for having taken me to this remote site, but also for his expert interpretation of the language of a people amongst whom he was born while his father was serving as a medical missionary in their midst. In a recent letter to me he says: 'With regard to the article by Janmart on a possible origin of the stone balls in Angola, I can assure you that every Sotho housewife in the *platteland* of the Northern Transvaal possesses a round stone called *kgekgeto* with which to roughen her quern (*lwala*) and grinding stone (*chilo*) when these become too smooth. The *lwala* is not hollowed out by means of the round stone as suggested by Janmart, but becomes hollow as the result of continuous use. Native women also use a smooth oval stone (*tidelo*) to level and polish the floors of their huts.'

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(a)



(b)



(c)

SMALL BRONZE FIGURE AT BENIN  
Height  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches: photographs by William Fagg



(d) TERRA-COTTA TORSO AT IFE  
Height about  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches



(e) BRONZE HALF-FIGURE AT IFE  
Height 14 inches  
Photographs by Bernard Fagg



(f) TERRA-COTTA TORSO AT IFE  
Height about 8 inches

BRONZES AND TERRA-COTTAS IN IFE STYLE



# A BRONZE FIGURE IN IFE STYLE AT BENIN\*

by

WILLIAM FAGG

British Museum

98 It was generally assumed, when the Benin Expedition returned to England in 1897 with the great collection of bronzes which is now distributed among a great many British and foreign museums (notably the British Museum, the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset, and the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin), that the technique of bronze-casting had been introduced to the West Africans by the Portuguese. Evidence from Bini tradition was collected by members of the expedition to support this view (see Read and Dalton, *Antiquities from . . . Benin*, London, 1899, pp. 6, 19), and though this evidence was not entirely unambiguous, the excellence of many of the castings and the representation in some of the best of them of Portuguese soldiers and dignitaries led most scholars of the time to support the theory of European origin; it does in fact persist in some quarters today. That there was some Portuguese influence is of course unquestionable: apart from the subject matter of many pieces, there is the 'spiral' treatment of the human body which is confined, at Benin, to certain figures of Portuguese soldiers in the act of firing guns or crossbows; and the idea of making rectangular *bas-relief* plaques seems also to be of European rather than African origin, stemming presumably from the same ideas of mensuration which produced the Parthenon metopes.

Yet even the members of the expedition, predisposed as they naturally were to believe in the foreign origin of the best in Benin culture, recorded a tradition (*op. cit.*, p. 5) suggesting that Benin owed something to Ife, 150 miles away, whose Oni had exerted spiritual overlordship over Benin since the early years of the founding of the Yoruba kingdoms; and subsequent inquiries by Talbot and others leave no doubt that the Bini believe they learnt bronze-casting from Ife. An early Oba of Benin, Oguola, who reigned in the late thirteenth century, is said to have asked the Oni of Ife to send a craftsman to teach the Bini to cast in bronze. A certain Igue-Igha was sent, and is said to have become the first Ine, or head of the Brass-casters' Guild, to which a special quarter of the great city was exclusively allotted; the present Oba told me when I visited him recently that brass-casting has from the beginning been forbidden at Benin except within the brass-casters' quarter. Just outside the door of the Ine's house in that quarter there is a shrine dedicated to the deified Igue-Igha. The shrine itself is a small mud alcove, which has no doubt been repaired and renewed many times, but the cult objects, on a mud shelf about 3 feet 6 inches from the ground, are a series of terra-cotta heads, some of which in my opinion cannot be much later than the sixteenth century. The Igue-Igha

tradition therefore seems to be of long standing. It is these traditions, coupled with some stylistic affinities, which have led us to regard the Ife bronzes found in 1938 and 1939 (see MAN, 1949, 1) as ancestral to those of Benin.

The purpose of this note is to publish what I believe to be the first firm evidence of actual contact between the brass-working industries of Ife and Benin in early times. The Surveyor of Antiquities in Nigeria, Mr. Kenneth Murray, advised me before I visited Benin to look specially at a small bronze figure in the Native Authority Museum there, which he believed to be Ife work. This museum contains a small collection of bronzes which is of exceptional interest because many of the pieces have been dug up in the Oba's Palace or elsewhere since the expedition and differ in various ways from those still in use by the Oba and his chiefs in 1897. The importance of the collection is out of all proportion to its size.

The figure with which we are concerned is illustrated in Plate Fa-c. It is slightly less than 5 inches high and is beautifully cast in bronze about 1 millimetre in thickness, as can be seen where the base is broken; the clay core has been left in. The state of preservation is, apart from the break, excellent and the fine greenish patina is consistent with a long period of burial.

In this figure is represented without a doubt an Oni of Ife in full ceremonial dress. The following facts are, I think, sufficient to establish this:

(a) The double ornament worn on the breast of the figure corresponds exactly with that on the breast of the bronze half-figure dug up at Ife in 1939 (see Plate Fe) and occurs again on the breast of a large terra-cotta torso in the Museum at Ife (Plate Fd). A smaller torso at Ife (Plate Ff) appears to have had a rather similar ornament, but it has been broken away. I have not been able to trace the occurrence of anything resembling this ornament, either in art or in life, in Benin or elsewhere in Nigeria. When the present Oni was in London in 1948 he said that the half-figure was wearing dress and ornaments corresponding exactly to his own coronation regalia, with the single exception of the hat, and that no one else would wear similar ornaments. The double collar of the figure at Benin is also very similar to that of the half-figure, and the numerous necklaces which conceal the breast of both figures (as well as the terra-cotta in Plate Ff) are apparently identical in arrangement.

(b) The five long strings of beads, attached together, which pass over the figure's shoulders, crossing over at the back and on the stomach and reaching down to

\* With Plate F and a text figure



the thighs, are paralleled on the terra-cotta torso in the Ife Museum (Plate Ff), and no such long strings of beads are, so far as I know, found in Benin art.

(c) Both the figures wear the same type of heavy bead armlet, though the Benin figure (like the Ife terra-cotta in Plate Ff) has them on the upper arm as well as the forearm.

(d) The headdress of the Benin figure, though not very similar to any so far found among the Ife bronzes and terra-cottas (unless the central plaited ornament be compared with the crest of the 'Olokun' and British Museum heads; see MAN, 1949, Plate Aa), is in general form typical of the well-known bead crowns worn by the Obas of hundreds of Yoruba towns. Many of the more important of these are known as 'crowned Obas,' because their predecessors received the right to wear the crown from the Oni of Ife. The crowns, which are covered with tiny beads arranged in brightly coloured patterns, often have long strings of similar beads hanging from the periphery.

(e) The face of the figure is carefully scored with parallel vertical striations precisely similar to those which appear on twelve of the twenty known Ife bronzes. As in these, the striations are continued on to the area immediately behind each ear. (These striations on the Ife heads have not yet been certainly explained, though they are commonly supposed to represent some form of scarification; there is no tradition of scarification at Ife, and the still surviving practice—represented on two of the terra-cottas—of raising temporary, and widely spaced, weals by the use of a herbal decoction produces, of course, the opposite effect. The possibility, which had occurred to me, that the purpose of the striations was æsthetic rather than representational seems to be disproved by the piece under discussion, since so small a surface as the face of this figure would not need to be enlivened by hatching.)

(f) A band of some indeterminate substance is represented as passing between the ears and under the nose of the figure. A similar band appears on two pieces at Ife, a terra-cotta head and a small bronze head (fig. 1), perhaps broken from a staff, found early in 1949 at the spot from which the great series of bronze heads was excavated ten years earlier; in both these cases the band appears to be of some twisted material. (These two pieces may possibly, however, represent gagged sacrificial victims.) More important, perhaps, this band provides a possible explanation for the rows of holes pierced in the faces of fourteen of the twenty Ife bronzes. These have been generally regarded as intended for the insertion of some material to suggest a beard; but in the first place very few Yoruba men do, or apparently can, grow more than a very thin beard, even in old age; secondly, we know, from evidence which came to light during the cleaning of some of the heads in the British Museum, that at least at the time of burial strings of minute black glass beads were attached to the holes, and it seems unlikely that

the beard would be represented in so stylized a fashion when the heads themselves are so naturalistically conceived. In the case of the present figure, the band is clearly an article of ceremonial dress, and I suggest that this was also the purpose of the facial attachments of the Ife bronzes.

The figure is said by Chief J. U. Egharevba, Court Historian to the Oba of Benin and Curator of the N. A. Museum, to have been dug up some years ago during alterations in the Palace, and he explains it as a sample of Igwe-Igha's work sent by the Oni for the approval of the Oba before the craftsman himself was sent. This can hardly be proved, but it does seem that on internal evidence the piece may be fairly ascribed to Ife. If so, it may be regarded as one of the missing links between the style of the Ife



FIG. 1. SOLID BRONZE HEAD FROM IFE (ACTUAL SIZE)

*Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

heads (probably all belonging to a single period) and the greater stylization of the earliest of the Benin heads. The thinness of the casting is more suggestive of early Benin than of what we know of Ife casting, but it is improbable that the excellent founders of the Ife heads had not learnt to make thin casts for smaller works, even though for lack of archaeological investigation we have as yet no examples. The remarkable naturalism of proportion and posture is also indicative of Ife origin.

There is one other piece in the N. A. Museum which is said to be of Ife origin—the large semi-circular plaque illustrated by Mrs. Meyerowitz in MAN, 1940, 155, Plate I-J, 1. Two other pieces there are in my opinion of the same origin as this plaque, but I consider the Ife origin of these three pieces to be much less certain than that of the figure here described—though they may prove to have a connexion with the bronzes of Jebba and Tada, left behind in his flight up the Niger from Idah by the fifteenth-century chief Tsoede, and with the bronze figure, now in the British Museum, illustrated in Plate 5 of the Catalogue of the Royal Anthropological Institute's exhibition 'Traditional Art of the British Colonies,' 1949.



## A MARATHI VERSION OF THE ŒDIPUS STORY

by

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99 The following story was told to my daughter by an illiterate woman belonging to the caste of Maratha Hindu butchers.<sup>1</sup> She is now forty years old. She said she had heard the story from her old sister-in-law (husband's sister) some twenty-five years ago. I was listening, too, and asked some questions at the end.

'Everyone knows the Goddess Satwai.<sup>2</sup> She has to write the future of every child on the night of the fifth day after its birth; and what she writes must happen. Now, Satwai had a daughter. Every night she was left alone when her mother went to write out some baby's fate. She asked her mother one day, "Mother, why do you go out every night and leave me alone?" Satwai answered, "Daughter, I have to perform the task for which I am appointed by God. I must therefore go and write the fate of newborn babies." "Can one read what you write?" "No, not even gods know what I have written out for them." "But, mother dear, you must tell me what you have written out for me." Satwai refused this request and went out as usual. But her daughter allowed her no peace and threatened to leave her house if her request was not complied with. At last Satwai told her, "My daughter, it is your fate to marry your own son." Shocked at this revelation, the daughter begged to know whether her fate could not be changed. Satwai answered, "No, my daughter, as I have told you, my writing cannot be reversed. It must happen as I have told you." The daughter, however, was determined to cheat her fate. She resolved not to marry, not even to see a man, and so went into a deep forest, built a hut there and lived all alone for some years until she grew up to be a young woman. Now it happened that a king, while hunting, passed through the forest. He came to a lovely lake filled with clear sweet water. As his mouth was parched he took some water in his cupped hand, gargled with it and threw it back into the lake, and then rode away. The maiden arrived soon afterwards at the same lake. She had been gathering fruit and roots since morning and was tired and thirsty. She stopped, took some water in her cupped hands and drank it. Now that water contained the mouthful ejected by the king. As soon as the water reached her belly she became pregnant. At first she did not know that anything had happened to her, but after a few months she became frightened and did not know what to do. In due course a handsome male child was born to her. As she knew the prophecy she determined to destroy the baby, so she tore her sari in half, wrapped it round the child and threw it from a steep mountain side. Below the cliff lived a gardener and his wife, who had a beautiful grove of closely planted bananas. The bundle in which the child was wrapped alighted on top of some thick and stout banana leaves and remained there until it was found by the gardener, who took it home and handed it over to his wife.

As the couple were childless they were thankful for this gift of the gods, and the baby grew and thrived until it became a very handsome man.

'Satwai's daughter lived on in the forest for years until she grew tired of the lonely life. She thought that as she had killed her son she might go back to the world, and started to find a path through the forest. She rounded the great cliff and came on the homestead of the old couple. She was received with hospitality and as she had nowhere to go she lived and worked in their house. She was liked by all as she was both comely and industrious. In a few months the old couple thought that God, who had sent them the boy, had also sent them this girl as a daughter-in-law, and so performed her marriage with the boy. The young bride became the mistress of the house and in her household duties could go anywhere she liked. One day she was seeking some old pots in the loft and came across the torn piece of a sari which she recognized as her own. To make sure, she went down and asked her mother-in-law about the old piece of sari, and was told the whole story. She realized that what Satwai had written was fulfilled, did not tell anybody about her knowledge and lived happily with her husband, blessed by her aged parents-in-law to whom she was always kind and dutiful.'

Such is the story. I asked the narrator how the woman could live with her husband, knowing that he was her son. The Maratha woman answered simply, 'But what else could she do? You know, madam, it was written so.' The story itself is interesting, but what interested me most was the attitude of the narrator. Brother-sister marriage is regarded with abhorrence and is strictly tabooed; in fact, no such marriage has ever taken place in her caste or in any other caste. Mother-son incest is considered the greatest sin on earth. So the social situation is not different from that in Greece or elsewhere in Europe. In the Marathi version, as in the Greek story, every effort is made to cheat the fate, but whereas the Greek story ends in horror and tragedy, the Marathi story ends in a good-humoured acceptance of a queer fate. The Greek story has furnished us with the tragedies of Sophocles and a drama of Voltaire, and a psychological theory which purports to have world-wide application, namely Freud's theory of the Œdipus complex and his fantastic idea of the primæval drama when the tyrannical father of the horde was killed by the sons. The present folktale, on the other hand, is simple. At the end of the story my little daughter and the narrator were both laughing at the queerness of the happening. The absence of a husband of Satwai's daughter, of course, helps to keep the pleasant tone of the story, as it enables the son to marry the mother without first having to kill the father.

Stories of incestuous unions are found in Hindu, Buddhist and especially in Jain literature. They are used to



show the sinfulness of all worldly relationships, and as conundrums to set an intellectual exercise about kinships arising out of such a union. Thus in *Brhatkatha Kosa of Harisena*, edited by Dr. Upadhye, story no. 150, pp. 342f., runs as follows:

In the city of Ujjayini in the kingdom of Avanti lived a rich merchant called Suhasta. Vasantatilaka was his beautiful mistress. She conceived twins and was greatly troubled by morning sickness. Suhasta left his mistress in disgust when he saw her in this condition. In due time a boy and a girl were born. When Vasantatilaka saw them she thought 'these wretched creatures deprived me of my patron, the rich Suhasta; I had better abandon them,' so she wrapped the girl in a beautiful blanket set with precious stones and left her at the southern outskirts of the city. There she was found by the merchant Suketu, travelling from Prayaga, who being childless adopted her as his daughter and named her Kamala. The male twin was similarly left at the northern end of the city, and was found and adopted by a merchant from Saketa, who named him Dhanadeva. After some years Dhanadeva married Kamala and lived happily with her in the city of Saketa. One day Dhanadeva, together with other merchants, came to Ujjayini to sell some merchandise. There he saw the beautiful Vasantatilaka and lived with her, forgetting his wife Kamala. Vasantatilaka bore him a son. Kamala awaited the return of her husband for a long time, until she was told his whereabouts by a pious sage. Disgusted with the world, she renounced it, became a religious mendicant and wandered about begging from town to town. She thus happened to come to Ujjayini and saw Vasantatilaka's son crying in front of her house. By her sacredness she was gifted to see everything and she knew instantly who the child was. (Here follows a long narrative about the previous birth of all the characters in the story.)

She took up the child in her arms and addressed him thus: 'Child, you are my son,<sup>3</sup> you are my uncle,<sup>4</sup> my brother,<sup>5</sup> my brother-in-law.<sup>6</sup> Your father is my husband. Child, be still, don't cry.' Vasantatilaka heard the address and came out with her husband, and when they were told the story of their past and present life, repented of their sin and renounced the earth.

The same story is told in a Marathi book which purports to be a prose version of *Katha-kalpa-taru*, a compendium of stories written some three hundred years ago.<sup>7</sup> In it the kinship is made clear and four more kinship terms are added to the above. The Jain story may have been based on some old folktale, but in its present form it is purely didactic and intellectual—the double incest making all kinds of fantastic relationships possible. It has not the charm and the simplicity of the story as told by the Maratha woman.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> These people kill only goats and lambs, after dedicating them to the Goddess Bolai.

<sup>2</sup> The Goddess Sarwai writes out the life story of every child on the fifth day of its life. She is worshipped by the mother. A stone quern is put near the wall; near it are placed paper and pen, and a lamp is kept burning the whole night. The quern is worshipped with red powder, sandal, etc. With it are placed and worshipped all the things which a baby requires for its apparel and toilet, such as clothing, black eye-ointment, etc. The Sarwai comes after midnight, and writes out in invisible characters the future of the child. Nobody can see her come and go; not even a god can read what she has written.

<sup>3</sup> Husband's child.

<sup>4</sup> Dhanadeva is the husband of her mother; the child is at the same time Dhanadeva's son and brother (being his mother's child). So he is Kamala's mother's husband's brother, or uncle.

<sup>5</sup> Mother's son.

<sup>6</sup> Husband's younger brother, cf. note 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> *Katha-kalpa-taru* (Bombay, 1924), Vol. II, Chapter 18, pp. 519-21.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

**100** Volume LXXVII, Part I, of the *Journal* will shortly be published and will contain the following papers:

'Some Problems of Physical Anthropology' (Presidential Address), by Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S.

'New Studies in Rhodesian Man,' by J. D. Clark, K. P. Oakley, L. H. Wells and J. A. C. McClelland.

'The Trumpets of Tut-Ankh-Amen and their Successors,' by Professor P. R. Kirby.

'Norwegian Contributions to Lapp Ethnography,' by Professor G. Gjessing.

'The Physical Characters of the Sandawe,' by J. C. Trevor. Minutes of the Annual General Meeting and of Extraordinary General Meetings and the Reports of the Council and of the Honorary Treasurer.

With this issue will also be published the full list of names and addresses of Fellows of the Institute; the last list appeared in 1938.

Work is also well advanced on Volume LXXVII, Part 2, and this will contain the following papers:

'Some Complexities of Human Structure' (Huxley Memorial Lecture), by Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth.

'Recent Achievements in Eskimo Research,' by Dr. K. Birket-Smith.

'The Use of Blood Groups in Anthropology,' by Dr. A. E. Mourant.

'Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land,' by R. M. Berndt.

'Jando, Part I,' by H. Cory.

### The Excavation of Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar. By J. d'A.

**101** Waechter. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 21 February, 1950

The archaeological possibilities of Gorham's Cave were first observed by Captain Alexander, R.E., who made a small sounding in the cave after the late war. The present excavations were carried out at the request of the Gibraltar Government and financed by a grant from the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund.

The cave is situated on the eastern side of the Rock between Europa Point and Sandy Bay. Until recently the sea entered these caves, of which there are six in all, but owing to debris thrown over the cliff from the road construction, there is now a small beach in front of the southern three. The filling of Gorham's



Cave is wind-blown sand, originally sloping, but now, owing to the sea action, cut back to a vertical face, the top of which is 17 metres from sea level. Last season's work was confined to the making of a preliminary sounding from the top of the sands and reached a depth of a little over 5 metres. In all five archaeological levels were found, the first with pottery ranging in date from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D.; below this and separated from it by a layer of unoccupied sand was a level of sand very dark owing to the presence of charcoal. It contained animal bones and sea shells and definite hearths. Unfortunately there were insufficient implements to date it, and all that can be said is that it is a blade industry without pottery. Below a layer of unoccupied sands were three Mousterian levels separated from each other by clean sand, and below these more clean sand. The Mousterian levels, though not very rich in material, clearly belong to the same industry as that of the Devil's Tower (D. A. E. Garrod, 'Excavation of a Mousterian Rock-Shelter at Devil's Tower, Gibraltar,' *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LVIII, 1928).

Although there is no deposit of the 8-metre beach on this side of the Rock as there is on the north side, the traces of previous sea levels are in places very marked. In Gorham's Cave there is a well defined wave notch of this beach and a similar notch in Bennett's Cave to the south of it, which also has a Mousterian deposit. In both these caves the filling antedates the formation of the notches since the sands in each case fill them. This agrees with Professor Garrod's findings at the Devil's Tower, where the Mousterian cave filling rested on the 8-metre beach.

It is also fairly clear that the sea level was lower during the Mousterian occupation, since if it had not been, the cave would have been as inaccessible as it is today. Also the presence of wind-blown sand between the three Mousterian levels indicates that the sands were being carried into the cave from a shore line which now of course does not exist. The same conditions appear to have existed during the formation of the as yet undated level, though whether this was part of the Mousterian low sea level or of another cycle remains to be seen.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**Social Organization.** By Robert H. Lowie. New York (Rinehart), 1948. Pp. ix, 465. Price \$4.50

**IO2** This book is so well and clearly written, and so full of information, that it is likely to become a standard work. Many of the chapters, particularly those on kinship, marriage, property, law, the family, unilateral descent groups and socialities, are so good as to afford little or no scope for criticism. The chapter on religion is rather slight, and in that on education Professor Lowie tends to emphasize the good points of savage systems of initiation, while ignoring those that are senseless or cruel.

Perhaps his weakest chapter is that on social strata. In it he throughout fails to distinguish between the lower grades of regular class systems and slaves or depressed ethnic groups. In particular he misunderstands Hinduism, confusing the lower castes, who form an integral part of the Hindu socio-religious system, with the pariahs who are outside it. Systems in which the lower classes have rights as well as obligations, as in the aristocratic society of Venice, where the grand chancellor had to be a non-patrician, are unfamiliar to Professor Lowie, as are those forms of the dual organization in which one moiety has acquired a higher status than the other.

His discussion of kingship is also weak. 'A Negro chief,' he says, 'is invariably a judge and naturally retains judicial attributes as a king that his European counterpart would lack' (p. 341). This is a complete misconception. Mediæval kings, notably our Henry II and Louis IX of France, spent much of their time acting as judges, and justice has from the earliest times been an attribute of the good king. Our judges are to this day in theory merely the King's deputies. He goes on to say that 'the typical African monarch has specific magico-religious functions, such as rain-making, which his Western colleagues do not aspire to.' This again is a misconception. All ancient kings were believed to control the weather, and traces of this belief persist wherever the kingship survives. To treat the divine kingship as peculiar to Negro Africa, as Professor Lowie does in effect (though there is mention of Polynesia), is as if one were to treat Christianity as peculiar to Abyssinia.

While admitting the possibility of diffusion in certain cases, Professor Lowie says, truly enough, that it does not explain the ultimate origin of anything (p. 84). It does, however, unlike other theories, allow for historical accidents such as the exploits of conquerors or explorers. These have had a far greater influence on the course of human development than most theorists will allow.

This book, like others on the subject, suggests two questions. The first is, how does progress come about? Professor Lowie says that 'in Western civilization change is not merely experienced but deliberately sought . . . To this there is no counterpart in other

cultures. The aim of a Crow or Maori or Zulu sage is to maintain tradition, not to improve on it' (p. 205). He qualifies this statement, both here and in his chapter on law, by mentioning possible exceptions, but they are exceptions in theory rather than in recorded fact, and, though changes in savage law and custom occur, there is nothing to indicate that these changes are in the direction of progress towards civilization, however we define these terms. It seems, in fact, that between savagery and civilization there is a gulf which, except under alien influence, savages have never attempted to bridge.

The second question is, is there a science of social anthropology? Professor Lowie calls his first chapter 'Principles of Grouping'; it contains descriptions and definitions but no principles. His third chapter is on 'Laws of Evolution'; he admits at the end that though 'generalizations of limited validity' are possible, no laws have been discovered.

Discussing the avoidance of in-laws, and what are known as joking relationships, he points out how sporadic is the distribution of these customs and what very different forms they take among the peoples who observe them. 'It follows,' he says, 'that any generic psychological or psycho-analytical explanation must be rejected as shoddy' (p. 85). Quite so, but psychology is merely another name for human nature, and what Professor Lowie says amounts to an admission that there is no correlation between custom and human nature. But if the facts with which social anthropology deals cannot be explained, then social anthropology has no laws, and a so-called science without laws is no science at all. It would, of course, be absurd to blame Professor Lowie for this state of affairs, and it is greatly to his credit, as well as to the comfort and pleasure of his readers, that he does not, like some of his colleagues, seek to elude criticism by hiding in a mist of polysyllabic jargon, but he fails to realize, or at least to admit, that his book is a collection of facts, and that a collection of facts, however well selected and arranged, is not a work of science. RAGLAN

**The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization.**

By Leslie D. White. New York (Farrar Strauss), 1949. Pp. xx, 444. Price \$6

**IO3** The title of this book is a courteous concession to current language; for Dr. White spends much effort to commend his own term 'culturology,' first used apparently by Ostwald about 1915 to denote what Tylor had described as the 'science of culture' in 1871.

The argument is difficult and sometimes expressed with needless repetition of catchphrases. Beginners in 'culturology' should start



at Part III (chapter xiii) and Part IV (ch. xiv) and then read ch. ix on Ikhnaton and ch. xi on Incest, followed by ch. xii, Man's Control over Civilization. The theoretical and mainly logical chapters in Part I will then be easier going, if they are needed at all. This criticism is incurred by the too common practice of working up separate articles into a book; they seldom fit their places in the design; and along with much repetition—no doubt, of important issues—they risk omission of other aspects of the matter.

Here, for example, along with much elaboration of the *cosmos* of 'cultural' realities—at the same time external to the individual men, and comprised within the human species without which it could not exist—there is less than adequate explanation of the diversities of reactions of those human individuals. Up to a certain point one must 'leave human beings out of account' in generalizing and abstracting the processes of culture which are nevertheless reactions between them; but this does not justify the treatment of actual individuals as if they were interchangeable like raindrops or physical molecules. And if they are not so interchangeable, what becomes of the uniformities resulting from their reactions to the same processes or factors of culture; or of the neglect of psychological differences between them?

An instance of this kind of problem is offered by Dr. White himself, in his brilliant criticism of the numerous romantic 'histories' of the Egyptian king Ikhnaton (ch. x). For he goes too far in his denial that there was anything very remarkable about this person: certainly contemporary sculptors and painters thought that there was, and his own public sayings and doings were very peculiar. Experiments are not possible in history, and it is as unscientific to deny that unusual historical effects had an unusual cause, as to assign a particular course on inadequate evidence.

Similarly the critical account of customs regarded by this or that people as incestuous (ch. xi) may well reject current explanations of them; but the generalization that they have economic reasons is not more than a probable guess, in view of the economic grounds, well established, for the habitual incest customs of ancient Egypt; in a society where property and status passed in the female line, they could only be retained in the family by marrying the mother of the heir presumptive. There have certainly been remarkable coincidences, in time, of mathematical and other scientific discoveries, and Dr. Kroeber has studied the occurrence of periods of unusual intellectual and artistic ability; but these are far from disproving—and indeed presume—the occurrence also of individuals with special initiative, receptivity, or what you will—sometimes within breeds or strains of ability, such as were studied in Galton's *Hereditary Genius*.

After all this, Dr. White's thesis is a not unreasonable corollary of what is by this time accepted for the physical cosmos and in great measure for the biological and psychological: that the facts and processes of human culture form a cosmos with its own uniformities and processes, which are only manifested in human personalities, as physiological uniformities in living cells, and must be studied in accordance with their own nature. That this does not lead to a passive fatalism—'if all is determined, why do anything?'—he argues by the analogy of physical and biological forms of energy. As chemical and physiological structures are formed by redistributions and concentrations of energy, and as living things are maintained by acquiring more and more energy and redistributing it, so do men, as individuals and in groups, acquire energy and control of it, from the first self-conscious use of limbs and the simplest natural resources, to the discovery of fire, cereal crops to entrap solar energy, domestic animals to entrap plant energy, mineral fuel, and (at long last) atomic energy; all within a physical and biological cosmos, and also within a cultural cosmos, into some local manifestation of which they are individually born, and within which they acquire and expend energy in maintaining and enhancing their individual lives, and in engaging in cultural intercourse, technological, sociological and ideological up to the highest cultural levels.

But once again, what is not disproved, and appears to be at least the other half of the whole interaction, is the individuality of the individual, and his ability, capacity, genius, or what not, through which he does react as he does, to the culture into which he comes,

and which—whether through his energy or another's—is not quite the same when he leaves it. If cultures change, and culture as a cosmos changes, and all the while is only manifested in human individuals, surely something is happening which would not happen without those individuals collectively; and something happens also which the 'science of culture,' so ardently desired by Dr. White, should be competent to assign to its particular or individual cause.

Dr. White, indeed, seems to see, here and there, that a cosmos of 'atoms and void,' as the Greek physicists put it, simply will not work. You cannot get more out of a cosmos than your theory puts into it. Dr. White calls his *primum mobile* 'energy'; let us leave it at that, and thank this particular manifestation of 'energy' which is Dr. Leslie White for a stimulating, though rather difficult, contribution to anthropological theory.

One very small complaint: the italic type in this volume is so like the roman that marks of 'emphasis' are very easily overlooked.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Der Urmensch und sein Weltbild.** By W. Koppers. Vienna (Herold), 1949. Pp. 272.

**104** This is a revision of the author's *Urmensch und Urreligion* (Alten, 1944, 1946) with special acknowledgments to Professor Adolf Portmann of Basel. The problem is twofold, scientific and theological, and Dr. Koppers combines both qualifications: the central feature of his argument is his record of investigation of the beliefs of the Bhils of Central India, and of the Yamana of Tierra del Fuego. Round these he marshals other observations mostly quoted from P. W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster, 1926), *Handbuch der vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte* (1930), and others. Koppers begins with trenchant criticism of modern anthropological theories. 'Original' and 'primitive' are relative terms. When the ethnographer has done his utmost, the psychologist and the theologian still ask, 'What preceded that?' For there is no 'Naturmensch' quite without culture, and there are traces of some kind of ceremonies far back among palaeolithic cave deposits. Modern ethnology has laid stress on biological aspects; but it deals with mankind already evolved. And there are notable coincidences among early beliefs, very widely scattered, which point to a common stock of primary ideas among undifferentiated humanity. Koppers examines the beliefs in a 'Paradise' and a 'fall from innocence,' and the practice of exogamy; and claims full intellectual competence for aboriginal man. This raises the question of the value of brain dimensions as evidence of brain power; and leads to a critical review of modern 'pedigrees' of primitive human types. He claims that the intermixture of racial characters proves that Neandertaloid and other palaeolithic types are hybrids and degenerates, and that the aboriginal 'man' was of a high physical type, and not directly descended from any known anthropoid. It is here that Portmann's studies are relevant: he seems to reject current evolutionary theory in favour of some sort of special creation. Similarly T. D. Stewart, studying the human face, concludes that 'the expression of early man was not less benign than our own.' Moses, Phidias, Michelangelo and Blake had similar ideas. Portmann's interpretation does not do more than put back the 'creation' of man very far before any extant declension; it also seems to allow Koppers to revive the claims of the skull fragments from Kanam and Kanjera; and to suggest (p. 115) an origin from a single pair. This is indeed not impossible without any 'special creation' at all. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria are venerable precursors of Dr. Koppers' working hypothesis (p. 118).

Koppers next recurs to the primary beliefs of man, and gives vivid accounts of his own observations among the Bhils and the Yamana. It slips out that the simple devout Bhils sometimes curse their One God (p. 125), and have a Hindu name for Him. The relation of Bhil monotheism to the principal religions of India is traced, and various deviations and accretions are discussed; these, like the hybrid types of early skulls, are 'historical,' i.e. subsequent to the primary emergence of 'man.'

From these and other widely scattered survivals, Koppers infers a very long period of culture between the primeval and any extant phase. What he does not explicitly claim to have proved is a



special creation, either physical or cultural; only to have shown the inadequacy of current hypotheses of 'evolution' from something, either physical or pre-cultural, that was not human at all. And here we may leave him, noting his touching epilogue of gratitude to an over-ruling Power which has allowed the survival of Bhils, Yamana, and other monotheists, to confound the evolutionists, and bring anthropology back into what he believes to be the reconciliation of science and theology.

JOHN L. MYRES

**The Freedom of Necessity.** By J. D. Bernal, F.R.S. London (Routledge and Kegan Paul), 1949. Pp. xii, 438. Price 18s.

**105** The 'Communist Manifesto' appeared in 1848. Its centenary is celebrated by this collection of essays, of various dates and contents, by one of the most convinced of its advocates in this country. There is inevitably much repetition, and the better passages have to be disengaged from exhortations which are sometimes violent, and vague. Speaking of liberty (p. 17) Professor Bernal says that 'Under the conscious compulsions enforced by chains, whips and starvation—or the fear of these—there are unconscious compulsions which can be built into the individual's character by his social environment. These compulsions can make men, apparently of their own accord, a nation of slaves or a gang of tyrants.' Is he speaking of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia? And is he advocating the 'freedom of necessity' or the 'necessity of freedom'? Perhaps he is better informed about Communist countries than about his own; but a Fellow of the Royal Society should not write that 'the Archbishop of Canterbury benignly presides over the Royal Society dinners' (p. 92), or that 'Science is too dangerous nowadays to be popularized without being sterilized by making it fit with religion' (p. 102, illustrated by Jeans and Eddington). What is the meaning of 'snobs such as Davy,' or 'pictistic recluses like Faraday'; or 'Darwinism is simply Victorian liberalism in natural history' (p. 105)? The ancient sophists claimed to 'make the worse cause appear the better'; modern successors strive to make the better cause appear the worse. It is necessary to note these lapses, because Professor Bernal stands or falls as a man of science, and in scientific writing this sort of inaccuracy is out of place.

Many of these essays, however, were of value when they were published, and some are still suggestive, especially those on Cominius, Bernard Shaw and Engels. Some of the proposals are already in process of realization; some of the prophecies have been fulfilled. The attempt to explain Dialectical Materialism (pp. 365ff.) would be more successful if it were not continually dragged back to propaganda level. But it is likely to repel as many readers as it attracts. After a valid argument (p. 380) about the growth of science the conclusion, 'These conditions are not to be found in a rapidly disintegrating capitalist society harassed by economics and pre-occupied by preparations for war. The future of science lies in the communist state.' Without the words italicized here, the statements may or may not be true; but they are not made true here by intruding fresh and unproved qualifications. On p. 386 the secret is out: 'Any real knowledge of dialectical materialism implies active participation in this proletarian struggle' . . . 'Marxism ceases to be a science, and becomes a religion.'

It is as a contribution to the history of religion, not of science, that we have to consider this curious book. And so under the creed of *The Freedom of Necessity*, 'the events of the future do not come to [the Marxists] as blind fate, but partly, ever so little, as the result of their own efforts.' And so say all of us, even if our religion is not Marxism.

JOHN L. MYRES

**The Origin of Things: A Cultural History of Man.** By Julius E. Lips. London (Harrap), 1949. Pp. 420, illus. Price 21s.

**106** The writer of this book was encouraged to its production by the frequency with which, at dinners and cocktail parties, he was confronted with the categorical imperative: 'Now tell me everything about anthropology.' Compliance could not normally follow at once upon demand, but this book is now ready to tell the general

public, as well as those who 'dine out,' all or something about the 'origins of our modern tools, habits, traditions and beliefs.' It may be noted that the word 'thing' is given an unusual extension of meaning in the book's title, since it is made to cover the immaterial as well as the material artifacts of man. The word 'origin,' also, promises too much, since the ultimate origins of such artifacts are usually matters of speculation or hypothesis, and our author is not forthcoming in these risky exercises. However, in a work of compilation for popular consumption we need not be squeamish about a title. Nor need we, perhaps, object to an excess of charm in such chapter headings as *Accessories of Allure*, *The First Robot* (for animal-traps and snares), or *Wall Street in the Jungle* (particularly appropriate, indeed, for the currency chapter, whose factual density is almost impenetrable).

The author's diligence in the pursuit of authorities may be gauged by the 30 pages of bibliography, mainly of English and German publications. Unfortunately, liaison with the text is wanting, except in so far as the items, under author's names, are listed alphabetically in chapter groupings, at the end of the book. A comparable defect in the text figures, some 250 meagre line drawings of specimens and illustrations, has left them to float freely in the text, without numerical attachments.

It is a curious circumstance that a division of the book into two halves, in accordance with the differing subject matter, is reflected in a difference of literary style and competence so marked that two writers might have been at work. While the sociological second half is written freely and fluently enough, with few indications that English is a very difficult language, the technological first half contains not only numerous errors and awkward constructions, but words and phrases of inadmissible or erroneous character, usually indicative of faulty translation or of unfamiliarity with English terms and usages. As a bad example (p. 200) a drawing of an obvious polished celt of stone or shell is described as 'Mother-of-pearl Money Jar, Island Yap.' The text clears up the mystery, and adds notably to the errors, thus: 'mother-of-pearl shells are another widespread coin, especially in the Caroline Islands, where they are known by the name of *jar*. They are cut to the shape of a spade, punched and tied to a cocoa string.' A selection may be made of a few other errors and misconceptions—though the above would be difficult to beat—that may arouse misgivings in the mind of the most trusting reader. Thus: 'the black tents of the Tibetans, loosely woven from the hairs of the yak'; 'pile-structures (pile-dwellings) have been known to man since the dawn of time' (this is an example not only of looseness of expression, but of the author's tendency to view the facts of archaeology with a romantic eye); 'cow drops,' 'brick meal,' 'cowrie money snails,' 'stone salt,' and the 'salt streets' of ancient Europe. The descriptions of weaving and pottery-making, amongst other arts and crafts, suffer greatly from faults and errors in details, whilst fire-making appliances and the methods of using them fail to emerge from a state of expository confusion. A climax of futility is reached in the account of the action of the 'fire-pump of India and Burma. It consists of a wooden cylinder in which a piece of tinder is compressed with a closely fitting piston which is stroked up and down until sparks are produced.' Finally, as evidence of the author's neglect of analysis: "'Paper-money" is as well known to many primitive tribes as it is common in our form of civilization.' The author thus rashly and without excuse equates with our banknotes the mats and skins that have been used as currency by many backward peoples. Flexibility is his criterion.

In fairness to the author it must be said that no such blunders as those above quoted have been detected in the sociological part of the book. Their absence makes this part more readable, and it seems that the wording of the authorities must have been followed much more literally.

Subject to the limitations arising out of faults such as those indicated above, the book may be said to cover the ground of the cultural history of man with an approach to that degree of completeness—if not of precision and lucidity—which should satisfy, and even satiate, the most inquisitive and voracious diner-out.

H. S. HARRISON



## AFRICA

**The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilization.** By Margaret A. Murray. London (Sidgwick & Jackson), 1949. Pp. xxiv, 354, with 97 plates, 24 text figures, and 2 maps. Price 30s.

This is quite the best popular account of Egypt's gift to humanity, scholarly, readable and packed with information; the plates are exceptionally fine, and the coloured reproduction of Tutankhamen's coffin by Winifred A. Brunton admirable. All aspects of Egyptian life and history are represented. There is a most useful outline of political developments and an adequate account of the language and writing, but most of the book is devoted to the 'splendour' of material arts which most people associate with Egypt. Dr. Murray has a long career of excavation, museum study, and teaching, and her devoted co-operation with Flinders Petrie enables her to claim for him the title of founder of Egyptian archaeology out of the 'hobby of antiquarianism,' though this does less than justice to the work of the great explorers and linguists of four previous generations. Plates XCI and XCII give impressive portraits of Flinders Petrie at his appointment to the Edwards Chair at University College, London, and on retiring from it.

For the general reader the frequent references to Herodotus will be welcome: one could have wished, however, for more discussion of the 'Labyrinth.' The Greek description is perfectly clear, and derived from a 'personally conducted' visit, but it is quite unlike any known Egyptian building.

On p. 100 Dr. Murray outlines her studies in Egyptian society, with special reference to the position of women. All social status descended in the female line, and customs which seem to us incestuous were a simple and effective way of keeping property and privilege within the family. An Egyptian king need not intern pretenders; he just married them, including his sisters. And the system worked. Only rarely was there a palace intrigue involving the Queen. And at long last Octavian secured his position by *not* marrying Cleopatra but destroying her children.

Egyptian sculpture is illustrated by a fine series of portraits, personal embodiments of power, quite unique in art. Two small slips may be noted: copper in Egyptian painting is usually red, not blue, which seems to render iron; and it was not Evans who recognized the Kahun-Kamaraïs pottery as Cretan. Petrie had already insisted that it was Aegean, and when I objected in 1892 that no such Aegean fabric was known, he said 'Go and look again.'

JOHN L. MYRES

**West African Journey.** By Margaret Wrong. London (Edinburgh House), 1946. Pp. 80

**108** The name of the greatly lamented Margaret Wrong will always stand for one of the most enlightened and effective pioneers for African literacy, and more particularly for that literacy in their vernacular languages which is essential if Africans are to build their intellectual and spiritual future upon their own best qualities rather than upon the illusory shadow of western materialism. In this unpretentious and lightly written account of one of her last journeys in Africa, she contrived through happy anecdote and much shrewd observation to give a clear picture of the African missionary world, its problems and those of the populations

which it serves. Her own personality and the happiness with which she worked shine through every page, yet (for this is the least self-centred of books) it is her subject matter which is thereby illuminated. This is no guide book, but any prospective traveller to Africa might well read it to prepare his frame of mind.

WILLIAM FAGG

**Conseils aux Chercheurs.** 3rd edn. Dakar (I.F.A.N.), 1948. Pp. 78, with text figures. Price 35 francs (metropolitan)

**109** No research worker in the African field can hope to be familiar with all the vast literature of African archaeology and anthropology, still less with the other branches of science from meteorology to linguistics; the best he can hope for, outside his own specialisms, is to know where to go for the information he may require. Even a person with no scientific training or knowledge at all may well contribute significantly to the corpus of knowledge if only the right signposts are ready at hand to guide him to the sources of existing information. In French Africa the researcher, of whatever status, is well served by the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, and this little volume, which bears the unmistakable stamp of Professor Théodore Monod's astonishing breadth of interests and achievements, should certainly be a part of his field equipment. About half of it is devoted to extensive bibliographies classified mainly by subject; a cursory check of the ethnographical and art sections reveals some notable omissions, and on the other hand undue prominence is given to that depressing and misguided farrago, Nancy Cunard's anthology *Negro*; but the inquirer will find a wealth of useful sources listed and those in other sciences than his own may prove especially valuable to him. The remainder of the booklet conveys in simple language the essential principles of scientific method as well as many sage hints and warnings to the fieldworker, and there are specimen forms of documentation for the use of collectors which leave no excuse for inadequate labelling.

WILLIAM FAGG

**Witchcraft and Magic of Africa.** By Frederick Kaigh. London (Lesley), 1947. Pp. xxv, 159, 14 plates. Price 12s. 6d.

**110** The sole justification for reviewing this book in MAN is that the unwary may perhaps thus be spared the chagrin of buying the book under the impression that it is anything like, say, Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, for it is at the opposite pole. It is sufficient indication of the contents to say that among the ill-written anecdotes of which the book is composed is one in which the author claims to have witnessed the transformation of human beings into jackals in Central Africa. In a disingenuous foreword by the occultist Montague Summers, an attempt is made to lend colour to the work by dragging in the name of a deceased Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, identified as such, who might well turn in his grave at the association. The book is indeed no more reliable than Sir John Maundeville's *Travels*, and infinitely less entertaining. Certainly the Library of the Institute is the last place for it, and if any public libraries have acquired copies, it is to be hoped that they have classified them correctly under 'fiction.'

WILLIAM FAGG

## AMERICA

**The Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North.** By Arthur Huff Fauset. Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Press); London (O.U.P.), 1944. Pp. x, 126, 4 illus., bibl. Price \$2 (12s.)

**III** Five popular Negro cults in the large northern cities of U.S.A. are examined, and the thesis put forward by Herskovits and others that Negro religious expression is due to a 'bent' or temperament inherent in his African heritage is challenged. It should be noted that definite instances of survivals discovered by Herskovits are not questioned; the author examines the form and function of these

cults and shows their functional correlation to the peculiar history and needs of the Negro in the U.S.A.

Four of the cults show elements considered characteristic of Negroes: the use of music as an emotional stimulant, dancing, shouting, trance states and healing. These forms of religious expression have a far wider distribution than the continent of Africa and have occurred within European Christian sects at various periods and in certain areas. In one cult, however, all these traits are absent: the Moorish Science Temple of America was founded in 1913 by Timothy Drew, who took the name or title of Noble Drew Ali,



the prophet. The cult members consider it to be a branch of Islam and have adopted some Moslem symbols, including wearing the fez. Their sacred text, written by the prophet and called the Holy Koran, is secret. However, their beliefs or practices seem to have little in common with those of Islam, and they condemn polygamy. From the testimony of members it would seem that the chief appeals are a dissociation from Christianity because of the hypocrisy of the Christian churches in the policy of Negro segregation, and satisfaction in allying themselves to Asiatics. They actually call themselves Asiatic descendants of the Moabites and Canaanites, and tabu the word Negro or any of its less polite synonyms. Their services are punctual and very quiet, with no music and very little singing and none of the emotional appeals so prominent in the other cults.

The best known and most popular cult is that of the Peace Mission of Father Divine. The central point of this cult is that the leader is not merely possessed by the divine spirit but *is* God. There is no priesthood or visible organization; the numerous secretaries who manage the branches are directly responsible to Father Divine, who is omniscient and immortal. Immortality is possible to all believers; illness and death are due to sin; there is no baptism as God (Father Divine) is available to all believers. Holy Communion is a real and sumptuous feast, at which the god presides. Strict morality in business and sex is ordained, all believers are brethren, race distinctions are obliterated and there is a fair sprinkling of whites both as members and secretaries. Sinners and enemies of the cult die suddenly (but no accusations of murder or poisoning are recorded). Besides the ordinary members of the cult there are its angels. These people voluntarily give up all their possessions, their work and private life, and live entirely according to the divine instructions of the founder.

The finance of the body is something of a mystery; there are no collections at services as in other cults, yet the Mission holds immense property and runs large enterprises. The holy text is its weekly paper *New Day*, in which, besides exhortations to morality, are advertisements of well-known business houses, always with a reference to Peace. Besides many smaller subsidiary enterprises, the Peace Mission develops real-estate holdings. It runs numerous hotels, hostels and restaurants at very moderate rates which must be of great social and economic advantage to the segregated Negroes of the U.S.A. The Righteous Government programme launched by Father Divine proclaims equality and the rights of man.

In all the cults investigated the personality of the leader is an important element, and he or she is divinely inspired. In one other cult, the United House of Prayer, the leader, Daddy Grace, takes the place of God. God is 'on vacation' and salvation is through Grace. Genuflections are performed before Bishop Grace's portrait.

In the Church of God (Black Jews) no collections are made at services; and this cult, like the Moorish, maintains that dark-skinned folk are not Negroes, they are true Jews, white Jews being impostors. Excessive emotionalism and speaking with tongues, prevalent in other cults, are disfavoured. Jesus was black-skinned.

Race consciousness is prominent in all the cults examined. The sufferings of the dark-skinned are expressed; either they are *not* Negroes and are superior to the whites, or they proclaim their equality. Most of the cults have puritanical restrictions on dress and personal adornment, and it is interesting that hair-straightening, an effort to get away from Negro characteristics, is forbidden. Cult members become passionately devoted to their leader, the sick are healed, the repressed and rejected are exalted, they strive to lead a pure life and gain direct contact with the deity. Holiness in life is the principal aim; there is no emphasis on reward in heaven. Mr. Fauset has not attempted to study the numerous cults with secret ritual that are mainly political. However, the political trend of these cults where the emotion is genuinely religious is obvious.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

**Law and Government of the Grand River Iroquois.** By John A. Noon. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 12.

**II2** New York, 1949. Pp. 186. Price \$2.00

This volume is a valuable contribution both to the already enormous quantity of descriptive literature on the Iroquois

and to the small but growing number of analytical studies of North American Indian law and government. The author is particularly concerned with the development of new mechanisms of social control and co-ordination in response to European contact.

The problems confronting the Iroquois in evolving a governmental structure adequate to radically changed conditions will be familiar to most students of contemporary North American Indian communities. Christian conversion and the counter-formation of the nativistic Longhouse cult produced religious schism which split the society into conflicting segments. The unequal response of young and old to European penetration created opposing 'progressive' and 'conservative' factions. The subordination of local leadership to the distant and ultimate authority of the European government undermined the development of institutions for responsible self-rule and contributed to the intransigency of intra-community conflict by providing a court of higher appeal outside the community.

All this is quite familiar. The Iroquois, however, came to the contact situation with a more highly developed central political structure (just how much more highly developed is still a matter for sharp debate among American ethnologists) than their neighbours. The aboriginal Council of the Confederacy, which in some measure co-ordinated the external relations of the Six Nations, formed the foundation upon which institutions of social control adequate to the intense strains imposed by the contact situation could at least begin to be built.

Noon approaches the analysis of this process with a quite frank use of concepts borrowed from European legal and political theory. New situations arose and the Council of the Confederacy met them by developing new executive, legislative and judicial functions, reinforcing and superseding the weakened traditional structure. Specialized administrative officers and committees were appointed to survey the land, disburse funds, enforce public health rules, police the tribal timber lands and impound stray animals. On the legislative and judicial side a body of law was built up by the accretion of precedent consisting of the decisions rendered by the Council upon disputes brought before it. In 'A Case Book of Iroquois Law,' which forms an appendix to the volume, the author has collected several dozen such cases from which he abstracts the principles of the 'unwritten constitution' of the Iroquois. The extraordinary difficulty of rapidly developing a system of traditional, personal authority into one of impersonal law shows through at every point: conflicting precedent must be explained by partiality to kin, bribery, etc. The occasional and (from the Iroquois point of view) arbitrary intervention of the European authorities to set aside Council decisions further increases the difficulty of establishing new patterns of control.

Although at times the application of modern legal jargon to the still elementary judicial procedure of the Iroquois seems rather forced, this probably has compensations in precision of statement in an as yet little developed field of investigation.

LLOYD A. FALLERS

**Indians of the Urban Northwest.** Edited by Marian W. Smith. Columbia Univ. Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949.

**II3** Pp. xiv, 370, 12 plates, figures. Price £2 8s.

The content of this work has been influenced by the desire 'to reiterate the anthropological position which claims that its four branches (social anthropology, linguistics, physical anthropology and archaeology) are necessarily inter-related' (Marian Smith). The necessity for emphasizing this approach is stated by Morris Swadesh in his article entitled 'A Linguistic Approach to History,' when he sees 'a serious weakness in American anthropology, a one-sided specializing tendency, which allows some branches of the science to forge ahead without making sure the others are allowed to keep pace with them.'

The result is an interesting collection of articles that not only reveal the value of this approach, but make a welcome addition to the already existing data concerning the people known as the Coastal Salish in the fields of diet, music, art, linguistics, religion, basketry, folklore, child study and, to a limited and unsatisfactory extent, social structure. Many of the articles, music and folklore to



mention two, make suggestions that will be of interest to anthropologists not specifically interested in the Coastal Salish.

The Coastal Salish are not a homogeneous group, and the value of this work would have been greatly enhanced if more information had been given by the editor in her introductory article about tribal and social structure in this area. As stated in the preface, the work has been primarily written for those who are already familiar with this field, but this does not prevent it from being of wide interest both as to method and the conclusions suggested by some of the papers.

JOHN NIDD

**Navajo Creation Myth: The Story of the Emergence.** By Hasteen Klah, recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright. *Navajo Religion Series, No. 1.* 1942. Pp. 237, 17 plates. Price £4 4s.

**Hail Chant and Water Chant.** Recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright. *Navajo Religion Series, No. 2.* 1946. Pp. 237, 25 plates. Price £8 8s.

**Emergence Myth according to the Hanelthnaye or Upward Reaching Rite.** Recorded by Father Berard Haile, O.F.M. *Navajo Religion Series, No. 3.* 1949. Pp. 186, 13 plates. Price £4.

**Star Lore among the Navajo.** By Father Berard Haile. 1947. Pp. 44, 7 plates.

**Bulletins of the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Nos. 1-4.** All published at the Museum, Santa Fé, New Mexico (London: Kegan Paul).

The Navajo Indians have been subjected to anthropological study for many years (see Kluckhohn and Spencer, *A Bibliography of the Navajo Indians*, New York, 1940). As they are a good-natured people, and anthropologists came among them mostly after the bitter years of subjection, they have contributed very greatly to our knowledge of a simple group of loosely organized clans with a primitive form of digging-stick cultivation as their main subsistence activity.

In tradition they retained much of their past, explaining a great deal of modern life in terms of ancient usage (Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth*, Univ. of New Mexico, Publ. in Anthropol., No. 3, 1947). Only a few people held the stores of traditional knowledge. These were mainly the singers and chanters who, for the cure of illness both physical and mental, performed healing rituals, which mainly consisted of a recital of the Navajo version of how things came into being. Different ceremonies take different starting points in this complex of legends, to suit their special nature. The ceremonial was directly linked with the execution of sand paintings, which both expressed the myth and formed a means of remembering it. The medicine-man taught his pupil 'through the fingers' so that he would be able to recite the chant and make the necessary picture together, thus linking them in the memory. It seems that in the distant past these pictures were preserved on a whitened skin, but in the troubled times of war with the Pueblos and later with the Whites the ephemeral sand painting, destroyed after the ceremony, was the only record made. Miss Mary Wheelwright and her associates have preserved records by learning, in the Navajo way, the meaning of the pictures linked to their execution, so that after the ceremony they could be recorded in a more permanent form, of which Mr. L. Ewing's serigraph plates in these volumes are but one example.

This sand painting is naturally like that of the Pueblos, but has a genius of its own. To the artist it has value for its beauty of design and colour, its simple structure and rich symbolism. To the anthropologist it is a stage in the history of religion and of the recording of ideas graphically, and it throws much light on American Indian symbolism.

A good deal of Navajo religious matter had been collected in the past by Washington Matthews (*Memoirs*, American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. V, 1897), and although little was done to further the study a revival of interest was beginning when Miss Wheelwright commenced her work. In the true sense she was an amateur of her subject, being so deeply in sympathy with it that she commanded respect from the wisest of the Navajo singers and healers. In fact, her anthropological technique was just this sympathy of approach, which has brought a band of scientific workers to her Museum, people like Kluckhohn, Hoijer and Haile whose very names are a

guarantee of the care expended on the project of recording Navajo Indian religion for future generations.

The object of the books under review is to present myth, picture and some account of the ceremony as a unity. They do this admirably, though perhaps for the beginner the description of ceremonial practice is not always easy to follow and could be expanded. One gains, however, an impression of the religion of the Navajo as a unity and not as a series of disjointed myths; and different versions of the stories are presented for study. The non-specialist will be pleased that Miss Wheelwright has used a simplified phonetic spelling for Navajo names (for example, *Wuzzy Kitty* for a hairy caterpillar). For the linguist it may be mentioned that the old phonograph cylinders recorded by the singers are being transcribed on to modern disc records, so that the record of chants never committed to writing by the Indians will be more accurate than even the best written text.

Perhaps the most important of the books is the Creation Myth, recorded by Hasteen Klah. This is the second most complete version ever recorded and has the advantage of coming from one person, deeply learned in the material he was reciting. Klah was a transvestite (*nallá*) and enjoyed the unusual social advantages of this class in Navajo society. This has led him, possibly in respect to White prejudice, rather to play down the position of the *nallá* in his account of the time when men and women were separated (*g'*, the other version in the Hanelthnaye Rite); but his concept of a Supreme God 'Bego-chiddy' (Be?ocidi), who plays a larger part in his recording than in other versions, as a hermaphrodite is probably due to his greater knowledge of the old traditions. This god is strangely like many other American Indian concepts of the Supreme Duality, notably that of the Aztec *Ome Teuctli*.

In *Hail Chant and Water Chant* Dr. Phyllis Ackerman makes what should be regarded as a gallant attempt to explain the basis of the beliefs, but it is not sufficiently complex. A Polar Star myth will not cover so much ground, and the theory that these beliefs originated as late as the chalcolithic period in S.-W. Asia is hardly tenable. They were held by many peoples, including the older Navajo, in an early neolithic culture phase. That similarities in the basic form of star myths are evidence of common origin is open to doubt, for similar phenomena may have been covered by similar explanations in widely different places. The real community of these stories must be found in their non-observational features such as the four worlds of emergence, the colours of the directions, etc. It is, in fact, a plausible guess that this group of American religions were influenced by the early beliefs of central Asia, but this needs a great deal of checking with the primitive myths of Siberia and even the cosmogonies of our own pre-Christian ancestors. To such studies Miss Wheelwright's work is an important contribution in that it forms a defined point of reference. In the Americanist field there are wider resemblances. The twins who slay the monsters are like the twins of the Popol Vuh, and the slayings are closely akin to those in the Old Woman's Grandson cycle from the Plains. The weather gods remind one forcibly of the Inca trilogy of Rainbow, Sun and Thunder, and of the five forms of the Mexican Tlaloc. In fact, in some ways this Navajo religion seems ancestral to the ideas which developed so cruelly in ancient Mexico. The Hail and Rain Chant sand paintings remind one forcibly of the first page of Codex Fejervary-Mayer. This similarity of expression in mythology is worthy of study in the light of the trade which brought rubber and copper bells to the south-west in the eleventh century, and turquoise and jet to Mexico. There are, of course, intrusions of the White Man's culture in the form of burro, sheep and horse, who mingle quite naturally with the native fauna. Christian influence (there has been a Franciscan mission in the land for centuries) is evidenced by an intrusive story of a Son of God who arose to the skies and of a second Deluge myth added to the Emergence story.

A specially interesting point in the Emergence myth is the reference to the 'Dinneh-nahoo-lanai,' one of the last clans to come from the west, who took their dogs and separated from the rest of the Dinne (Navajo) and went to the north. 'These are now the Eskimo,' says Miss Wheelwright; but more probably the tradition refers to the Athabaskan Teme of the Canadian north. It is a



timely reminder that Indian migrations have not all been uniformly southward, even if they originated in the far north in the first instance.

These excellently produced books will be beyond the reach of most individual students, but wherever primitive art, comparative religion and American anthropology are studied these are works of importance for the research library. The little *Bulletins*, in which the myths are retold in simple form, are aimed at a wide public; the stories are delightful. One would like to see an illustrated edition of them as a gift book.

C. A. BURLAND

**Totenkult und Lebensglaube im Caucatal, Vol. I.** By Georg Eckert. Brunswick (Limbach), 1948. Pp. 62, illus.

**115** This little book is a most useful concentration of information from many widely scattered documents, as well as the author's own fieldwork, on the prehistory of the middle Cauca Valley in Colombia.

Early literary sources are used to explain the archaeological material and the result is a clear account of the mortuary customs

and beliefs of the group of tribes usually lumped together under the label 'Quimbaya.' The general unity of the culture is emphasized, both in its technical and social aspects. The funerary customs depended on the belief that rank, occupation and even ownership of property continued unchanged after death. The semi-divine chiefs were buried in tomb chambers at the bottom of narrow shafts, often constructed under house platforms, and always on the slopes of mountains. Before death a chief might select which wives were to accompany him in the tomb; other wives sacrificed their hair. An interesting feature is the substitution of pottery figures for a proportion of the human beings needed to give the chief a properly constituted court in the other world.

Perhaps the author places too heavy an emphasis on the influence of the mortuary cult in raising the technical achievement of these peoples, but the work is designedly too short for long theoretical discussions. There is a very useful bibliography, and a good map shows tribal distribution at the time of the Conquest.

C. A. BURLAND  
E. OHLY

## ASIA

**Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East.** By C. J. Gadd. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy for 1945. London (Cumberlege), 1948. Pp. 101. Price 7s. 6d.

**116** This study is principally concerned with the ways in which, in the Ancient East, the gods were believed to make their wishes known to men, and to receive from them requests for help and information.

In the Babylonian creation myths it is stressed that before the creation of men the gods had to do all their work for themselves, and that the object of creating men was in order that they might act as servants to the gods. In the myths of the other countries the purpose of the gods in creating men is left vague. It is usually implied, however, that kings as well as gods existed before the creation. In the earliest times, in so far as these are reflected in the myths and quasi-historical narratives, no clear line was drawn between gods and kings, but when history begins things had taken a different turn in Egypt from what they did elsewhere. In Egypt the king became, or remained, a high god, if not the highest of the gods, but in the Fertile Crescent, though kings long remained on the borderline between gods and men, and even in quite late times kings claimed relationship with the gods, they became increasingly regarded as the deputies of the gods rather than as actually gods. In Egypt, therefore, though the king was high priest as well as high god, and had to perform the rites, he had little need to consult the gods, and divination, oracles and omens played a minor part. Elsewhere the kings were believed to be under divine guidance, and means were devised for ascertaining the gods' will. In Babylonia the most important of these was liver divination, the rules for which were extremely elaborate. In Assyria astrology became 'almost suddenly' a rival to liver divination. Kings also communicated with the gods in writing. In all countries kings recorded their achievements in inscriptions so placed that they could be read with difficulty or not at all, and were therefore presumably intended for the gods, but it was only in Assyria that kings went to the length of writing long despatches to the gods. To these the gods sometimes replied (p. 62). 'With the patriarchs of Israel, and down to the time of Moses, God's earthly presence was not unfamiliar to men.' Less direct methods of communication, such as the dreams of Joseph and Jacob, seem therefore 'unnecessary and almost inadvertent' (pp. 15f.).

Throughout the area, Mr. Gadd notes, there is a good deal of uncertainty as to whether the gods are immortal. There were generations of them, and they are spoken of as succeeding one another. Some are spoken of as old, while others died and were resurrected. 'Even in the Old Testament an allusion has been detected to the possible death of Yahweh' (p. 31). There is also some obscurity as to their dwelling place; at times they seem to live in heaven, and at others in their temples.

Mr. Gadd's two first lectures are concerned almost entirely with the relations between gods and kings. In his third he turns to the

people. 'It was,' he says, 'the common persuasion of mankind that welfare was to be earned, if at all, only by piety, that is by ritual correctitude, not by moral excellence. For the community an important means to attaining this condition was afforded by the public festivals, but it is never very clear what part the people took in these, nor how the individual could have supposed he profited from them' (p. 71). When things went wrong people tried, by means of oracles, dream-interpretation, omens drawn from the flight of birds, etc., to find out how to put themselves right with the gods.

RAGLAN

**Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete.** By Josef Henninger. Leiden (E. J. Brill, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Vol. XLII), 1943. Pp. 188, map, bibliog.

**117** This work aims at making a contribution to the study of primitive family structure among the Semites.

In the introduction, after a brief consideration of the population of Arabia geographically, literary sources for Arabian ethnography are critically presented, and the question of mother-right among the Arabs and other Semitic peoples is discussed generally. The main body of the work is divided into four parts, concerned respectively with the establishment of the family, the stability of the family, the dissolution of the family, and the relation of the family to larger social groups.

Marriage follows soon after puberty, and child espousals are rare. There are strict laws governing sexual morality, to the extent that pre-marital lapses and adultery are punishable by death. Sexual offences are rare in most tribes, and prostitution is practically unknown, although cases of hospitality prostitution are reported from south-western Arabia. In the selection of a marriage partner, first degree consanguinity, both lateral and linear, constitutes a generally recognized obstacle; but beyond this, close kinship is preferred, and theoretically endogamy is enjoined; this rests on notions of noble descent and equal birth. Tribute-paying Beduin tribes are considered of inferior birth, and marriages to non-Arabs, whether slaves or freedmen or their descendants, are forbidden; even concubinage with black slave girls is uncommon.

Most tribes insist on bride-price and often the payment is by service. But where exchange marriages are arranged bride-price is not paid; this is true also in the rare case of a girl being given as part settlement of blood feud. Bride-price is regarded largely as compensation to the bride's clan for the loss of her labour and that of her children.

Among the Beduin, marriage ceremonies are mostly no more than the introduction of the bride into the marriage tent along with a sacrifice; nevertheless testing of the bride's virginity is greatly stressed. In most Beduin tribes the use of the veil to conceal women's faces is not usual, or if so, it has been introduced only recently under Wahabi influence.



Polygyny is comparatively rare, and where practised is induced mainly by the desire for progeny. Childlessness is a great misfortune, and while boys are more desired than girls, female infanticide is only rarely practised. The right of divorce is everywhere, or nearly so, reserved to the husband; barrenness and adultery are its most frequent grounds. But although divorce is not uncommon, numerous couples keep marital faith throughout their lives. In the case of a widow, often the levirate is practised; although she may, on the other hand, remain with her children and form a kind of visiting marriage which does not deprive her of economic independence.

Slaves, especially Africans, exist in large numbers, but even after emancipation they remain an alien and unequal element within the tribe.

The closely coherent joint-family group does not exist among the pure Beduin. Sons usually separate after marriage, and paternal authority thereafter is relatively weak. Although the first-born son has a certain precedence (little more than honorific, however), property is divided equally among the sons. Among the pure nomads the notion of landed property scarcely exists, nor even proprietary rights to pasture, in contrast to conditions among the semi-nomadic and settled tribes. Among the latter the coherence of the joint family is greater, and the insistence on payment of bride-price is stronger. Thus freedom of choice in selecting a marriage partner becomes more restricted among the more settled groups. Among the pure Beduin, women enjoy greater personal freedom than among the settled tribes, but they are less favourably placed in relation to personal property, and everywhere are subordinate to men.

The work concludes with a consideration of the evidence afforded by present social conditions for the possible existence of an older mother-right institution.

A useful map giving modern geographical names, tribe names and classical names is included, together with a good index and a comprehensive bibliographical list of 559 items in English, French, German and Italian.

The whole work is to be highly recommended as a meticulous study which fills a gap in the anthropological literature concerned with Arabia.

W. FOGG

#### Etiopi in Palestina (The Abyssinian Community in Jerusalem).

By E. Cerulli. Rome (Libreria dello Stato: Scientific and Documentary Collection, Vols. XII and XIV), 1943. 2 vols, pp. xv, 459 and vi, 339; plates 27 and 8. Price, at time of publication, respectively 450 and 1500 lire

Professor Cerulli's two documentary volumes of history throw a revealing light into many obscure corners of major problems in the cultural and international relations between East and West, between the Near East and West Europe, through and beyond the Middle Ages. They were completed in the face of what must at times have seemed almost insuperable difficulties. The more ancient and valuable works of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek had already been largely removed elsewhere for safe storage, so that microfilms were hard to obtain. The Vatican Library, particularly rich in books and manuscripts of this period, was mostly closed, and only the co-operation of Cardinal Tisserand made it possible to verify texts and references. The Swiss, who during the war helped largely to keep bright the torch of learning and the standard of non-propagandist criticism, obtained for this eminent scholar, through their diplomatic channels, loans of codices and documents from libraries in Switzerland. He has clearly been aware throughout his work, which reveals so much that is new and complex in Europe's relations with the Near East, that it cannot properly be considered in any watertight compartment, but only as part of that wider phenomenon of relations between East and West.

In the matter of the background of this book for an average English-speaking reader, it may be useful to remember that tradition, with which this factual and documentary work does not deal, ascribes the beginning of the Christianization of Abyssinian Ethiopia to the Christian Frumentius who, on his way from Tyre to India, was wrecked on the south coast of the Red Sea, probably near the Abyssinian port of Adulis, in about A.D. 330. He acquired influence, became Royal Treasurer and eventually Regent of the young

Negus. The story is recorded in Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.*, I, 9) and is circumstantially confirmed by the Emperor Constantine's letter, dated 356, to the Abyssinian kings of Axum asking for Frumentius to be sent to Alexandria to question the Arian Bishop George on his orthodoxy. The letter is preserved in the *Apologia ad Constantinum* of Athanasius, who had consecrated Frumentius the first Christian Bishop in Abyssinia, with his See at Axum. In British perspective, the beginnings of Christianity in Abyssinia can be located some seventeen years after two British (not English) bishops had attended the Christian Council of Arles, presided over by the Emperor Constantine, who was still a pagan. It was only in the seventh century that the English became Christians. It is against this British background, and in this perspective of time, that the average English-speaking reader, who may have been taught his history horizontally rather than vertically, will begin the reading of this fascinating, well founded and documentarily colourful book.

The impressions of European travellers on pilgrimage in Jerusalem are numerous and clear. The Russian merchant-pilgrim from Moscow's Third Rome, Trifon Korobeinikov, in Palestine in 1592, lumps together all Latin, Abyssinian and other non-orthodox establishments there as 'heretical altars' of 'cursed heretics.' The Frenchman Henry de Beauvau, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1605, reports that St. Helena's two chapels on Calvary, in which he obtained indulgence, were guarded by an Abyssinian woman. The Englishman, George Sandys, who was in Palestine in 1616, opens his description unpromisingly by the statement that 'The Abissens or Ethiopians be descended of the cursed generation of Chûs.' The hitherto unpublished Turkish text of the 'noble *firman*' of Murad IV given in Istanbul in August, 1634, 'regarding the ceremonies of the Holy Sepulchre (*Qumâmah*), permits no other Christian communities to have precedence over the Greek Orthodox Church of Rûm' (the Second, or New, Rome). The Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople was physically within Turkish power, to direct as a willing or unwilling tool of the Government's policy at home and abroad, rather as the Head of the Orthodox Church of the Third Rome at Moscow seems to some observers to be used abroad by the present non-Christian Government of Russia. Among the Moslem documents one might have hoped that, with the Abyssinians for centuries on guard at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, texts might have been found which would throw more light on that Church's destruction in 1009 by the twenty-year-old Fatimid Caliph, abu-'Alî Mansûr al-Hâkim, whose mother was a Christian Russian or Ukrainian and sister of two Christian Patriarchs, of Alexandria and Jerusalem (it was the Caliph's Christian secretary who signed the decree). The destruction of that church and the Caliph's treatment of Christians were two of the contributory causes of the undying East-West conflict which, aside from the eternal triangle of the Three Rômes, at that time caused and took the form of the Crusades.

It is clearly revealed in these two volumes how, through the Middle Ages in Palestine, the monastic Abyssinians, who at one time had spread to Cyprus, remained in Jerusalem in relations with other Christian communities: the West European or Latin, Armenian, the Caucasus Georgians, Syrian Jacobites and the Nestorians who, from their Baghdad Dayr al-Rûm, had by the time of Harûn al-Rashid already founded flourishing Christian establishments in India and China. These contacts are here seen to have been felt in Abyssinia and to have exercised no little influence on the religious and artistic history of North-East Africans.

This mine of reliable and thought-provoking documentation, stretching from before the thirteenth century (the first is c. 400 and the second, of the English St. Willibald, dated 778) to the nineteenth, is mainly previously unpublished. There are nearly a thousand pages of documentation in some twelve languages: Amharic, Portuguese, Greek, German, Italian, Russian, English, Turkish, Dutch, Latin, French and Arabic. Vol. I supplies evidence of the way in which the Abyssinian community in mediæval Jerusalem acted, doubtless largely involuntarily, as a link between Western Europe and North-East Africa and beyond. They carried Western influences to Africa; and to the West they brought information on the history and geography of Africa acquired from the time when their ships acted as transports for New Rome to Ceylon and the African equator, to which they had sailed in search of gold, emeralds and



aromatics for Justinian. It may well be that the knowledge of the African world then possessed by the Ethiopians, relayed both East and West through Palestine, is reflected on the Kenya-coast gateway at Gedi and on the great globes of ducal Venice, which show the Nile lakes and the separation of Tasmania from Australia; so that, on the evidence, it has been alleged that 'the world was better known in 1600 than in 1800.'

Professor Cerulli's documents throw light on many points of general history. Among them is seen an influence stimulating Columbus' voyages, in the shape of the legend of Prester John's Christian kingdom, of people described in 1506 by Sir Richard Guylferde in Jerusalem as 'Abbasians otherwyse called Indyans', potential Christian allies able to attack in the rear the Moslems advancing into Europe. Western Christendom, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, was labouring under the apprehension, then not unreasonable, that in a few generations the whole known world might become Mongolian, if not Moslem. This added urgency to exploration towards vaguely apprehended east and west 'Indies.' It brought 'Christian Abissen Indyans,' already on guard at Christendom's Holy Places, into a limited limelight from the West.

Vol. II concentrates on the subsequent history of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem, on their juridical statute and on the nature of their monastic status. Chapter XX contains local British Consular correspondence (1850-52) on the British claim, under the Ottoman regime, to protect Abyssinians in Palestine. The correspondence does not, however, envisage other 'protection' than that of fellow Christians in a traditional and humanitarian form.

Professor Cerulli's book is copiously annotated. Vol. I is well illustrated, and the whole is provided with extensive indexes. The printing is of excellent quality. It is here seen how Eastern history, especially round the civilization basins of the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean, is inseparable from Western and European history, as it is from history as a whole. The book is a solid documentary contribution to human history, and by it Professor Cerulli has enhanced his already high reputation.

TRACY PHILIPPS

**Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras.** By A. Aiyappan. Madras (Government Press), 1948. Pp. vi, 186. Price Rs. 2 As. 8

Dr. Aiyappan, as Secretary of the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Committee, appointed by the Madras Government, has made this report of the Committee's activities between November, 1946, and June, 1947. The first part of the Report deals with the situation and problems of, first, the tribes living in Agency areas, who are subject to special laws and administration; second, the tribes living in other parts of the Province; and third, tribes notified under the Criminal Tribes Act, for whom there have been special schemes of settlement and welfare. Dr. Aiyappan stresses that the term 'aboriginal' has been by no means clearly defined by anthropologists, that most of these tribes do not have different racial origins, and that such an adjective as 'backward' would be a better description.

The problems facing the Government are similar for most of these tribes. They are, principally, those dealing with the change of the economy from one of shifting cultivation and food-gathering to one of settled agriculture, and also those of preventing alienation of land and money-lending by plainmen who take advantage of the tribesmen's poverty and lack of education. The Report shows that no comprehensive policy of development or protection has operated, even in the Agency areas where such has been the aim. Ignorance of tribal ways of life characterizes the plainman's attitude, and often with ignorance goes indifference. The Report states the Committee's views on the many reforms and innovations that are needed. Perhaps the chief one is that the lead of other provinces should be followed, and that a Department of Tribal Welfare should be set up, instead of there being the present division of planning and responsibility between the Forestry, Labour, Revenue and other Departments. The Report also suggests that anthropologists should be appointed to advise on Government action, as well as to collect material useful for scientific studies. It advocates a gradual policy of change, as opposed to attempts to

legislate change. The Report will be useful if it promotes this type of policy and understanding among administrators and the public. The second part of the Report, in which Dr. Aiyappan gives descriptive notes of all tribes considered by the Committee, will also be useful for creating an informed public opinion on the position of the aboriginal in the Province.

For anthropologists the Report is valuable in its general picture of the place of the tribes in the administrative and the economic systems of the Province, and for the description of the policies and attitudes now developing towards aboriginals in India. What is now needed is a series of monographs, similar to Dr. Aiyappan's own previous work, which will give us a fuller anthropological description and analysis of each tribe than it is possible to include in this Report.

ADRIAN MAYER

**Stone Age Cultures of Bellary.** By Bendapudi Subbarao. Deccan College Dissertation Series, No. 7. Poona, 1948. Pp. viii, 62, illus.

Bellary is in the north-west tip of Madras Province immediately to the north of Mysore. Geographically the district must always have been an important corridor for migrations, and the well-known rich finds of polished stone axes testify to this in ancient times. Megalithic tombs with porthole entrances also occur, and naturally prehistorians have been inclined to equate the Indian series with that of north-west Europe, and to date the Bellary Stone Age to about 2500 B.C. Recently the work of Mr. Bendapudi Subbarao at Sanganakallu, not far from Bellary itself, undertaken under the auspices of Dr. Wheeler, at the time Director-General of Archaeology in India, has helped to show that this dating is erroneous. In fact the megalithic tombs are only just earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and the main group of the polished stone axes only a few hundred years earlier still. A polishing technique for making stone axes may well have been employed at any period, but it is indeed interesting to find such a specialized trait as the porthole entrance occurring in two such widely separated areas at quite different times, and apparently entirely independently.

The excavations at Sanganakallu have yielded four levels. The oldest contains a crude microlithic industry in quartz. One may suggest that this can be equated with the microlithic industries which occur in the painted rock shelters of the Central Provinces, which Colonel Gordon considers to be of no vast antiquity. Above this lowest level is one containing polished axes and belonging to a true Neolithic culture. This passes gradually into the upper two levels where megalithic pottery occurs. The upper two levels correspond with the bottom two levels at another site at Brahmagiri, and here an upper level with 'rouletted' ware occurs which can be equated with the similar 'rouletted' and the crisscross-painted wares at Chandravalli. Here these two wares are associated with Satavahana coins and one of Augustus. The end of the megalithic period in this district, then, can be dated to a time immediately preceding or contemporary with the age of Augustus, and the true Neolithic interlocks with the beginnings of this megalithic culture. The crude microlithic industry at the base is separated from the earliest Neolithic by a thin barren layer, but there seems little to suggest any great difference in time between them. Probably none of the cultures represented in the Bellary region dates to a period before 1000 B.C. The author is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of investigation which confirms and enlarges information already obtained from previous studies in the region.

M. C. BURKITT

**Le Monde malais.** By Charles Robequain. Paris (Payot), 1946. Pp. 510, 16 plates, 32 maps. Price 440 francs

This book, by the Professor of Geography at the Sorbonne, is an account of the Malay Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago written primarily from a geographer's point of view. It is divided into five parts, dealing with the general features of Malaya, with individual areas, with economic change, with society and administration and with the future of Malaya. There is a bibliography of 255 items and an index. Some mention is made of prehistoric man, and paragraphs relate to anthropological types, ancient migrations, the influence of India, Islam and the more recent



relations with the Chinese and with European powers. The author rejects any hypothesis of a recent submergence of land areas in Indonesia, remarking that skill in navigation is all that is needed to account for island-to-island distribution and making no allusion to the zoological evidence which seems to support such a theory, to say nothing of certain widespread folktales describing a volcanic upheaval. In some of the more detailed studies of specific areas brief attention is paid to anthropological considerations, as when dealing summarily with the ethnological stratification of the Philippines population, but generally speaking the volume as a whole is written for geographers rather than for anthropologists, and the bibliography contains no reference to Marsden, Loeb or Snouck Hurgronje under Sumatra, to Jenks or Cole under the Philippines, or to Kruijt under Celebes.

J. H. HUTTON

**Four Thousand Years of China's Art.** By Dagny Carter. New York (Ronald Press), 1948. Pp. xix, 358, 260 illus., 2 maps, bibliog. Price \$7.50

122

No other living people can look back upon 4,000 years of continuous art history. The beautiful neolithic painted pottery excavated in Honan and Kansu shows no definite affinity to the styles that distinguish Chinese culture, but among them is found one form that is typically Chinese, the *li*, a hollow-legged tripod. The pottery is wheel-made, and the designs show more resemblance to those of Tripolji and Anau than to later Chinese art, but the skeletal remains do not differ from Chinese. The first Chinese dynasty, the Hsia dynasty, apart from a list of names, is still regarded as mythological, and no remains have so far been excavated. History begins with the Shang dynasty about 1,700 years B.C. already with a highly developed culture, walled cities, a

script and bronzes which for form, design and technique have never been surpassed. From that time to the present there have been barbarian invasions and intrusions, but China has always absorbed her alien elements and maintained her culture and her art.

This book traces all the arts through the various periods. The illustrations are excellent.

It is doubtful whether most scholars would agree with the author's statement that the earliest sculptures of the Wei dynasty, A.D. 386-557, are the work of the Tungus invaders. This is the finest period of Buddhist art, and in this period a distinct style was developed; however, affinities to the previous styles both in painting and sculpture are to be seen. The invaders had a powerful army, but their numbers were probably relatively small, and by the end of the period few families of pure Tungus descent were to be found and the language had completely disappeared. The phenomenon was repeated many times, and was characteristic of the Manchu invasion. 'Whenever a dynasty degenerated and the resulting misrule brought calamities upon the land, the emperor was made responsible for the wrath of heaven. In the light of this belief foreign invasions were looked upon as a heaven-sent scourge. The invaders in their turn retained power only as long as the prosperity and success of their government proved that they still had heaven's favor. This belief, firmly entrenched in the consciousness of the Chinese people, explains a great deal in Chinese history otherwise inexplicable to the western mind.'

The final chapter, dealing with art under the republic, is less pessimistic than might be expected considering China's ancient glories and present troubles, and one may still hope that, like the phoenix, Chinese art is again rising from its ashes.

BRENDA Z. SELIGMAN

## EUROPE

**Esquema Paleontológico de la Península Hispánica.** By J. M. Santa-Olalla. Madrid (Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre), 1946. Pp. 156, 64 plates. Price 45 pesetas

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This little book is valuable for two reasons. In the first place it provides in cheap and easily portable form an excellent selection of illustrations of the archaeological material from prehistoric Iberia. Much, though by no means all, of the material illustrated is, of course, available in the first volumes of the standard large histories of Spain or in the works of Bosch Gimpera, but it has not been presented before in this attractive and reasonably priced format. Secondly, the book is notable for its presentation of a new scheme of Iberian prehistory; new in its cultural-chronological divisions and in the absolute dates proposed. With the latter we have no quarrel. Professor Santa-Olalla would date the great Chalcolithic collective tombs of south Spain and Portugal to the first half of the second millennium, and his reduced date of the Algaric Bronze Age (he insists that the correct form of the name is El Algar and not El Argar) is plausible and helps in disposing of the great inconvenient Middle Bronze Age gap that yawned in the chronological schemes of the earlier systematists. In devising his new cultural-chronological divisions he has abandoned the Copper Ages, Eneolithics and Chalcolithics of scholars like Wilke and Bosch Gimpera, and proposes to distinguish the following: (1) the Archæolithic, reviving Avebury's early suggestion for the Lower and Middle Palæolithic; (2) the Palæolithic, by which he means the Upper Palæolithic of current systems; (3) the Older Neolithic or Mesolithic; (4) the Newer or Upper Neolithic, which he dates from 3500 to 2000 B.C., and characterizes first by a culture of Hispano-Mauretanian affinities with cardium ware and polished stone axes, succeeded by a culture of Ibero-Saharan affinities (the Almerian of current terminology); (5) the Mediterranean Bronze Age from 2000 to 1200 B.C.; (6) the Atlantic Bronze Age from 1200 to 650 B.C.; and (7) the Early Iron Age from 650 B.C. onwards. I could have wished that in proposing these interesting changes Professor Santa-Olalla had set out a scheme of objective chronological periods, and then fitted the cultural differences into that. He is throughout trying to compromise both cultural and chronological divisions into one framework, and his framework will not really work any better than that of Bosch

Gimpera which he seeks to replace. In any case it is impossible to include the wide variety of cultures in Spain within a single rigid cultural-cum-chronological classification: 'Bronze Mediterraneo I' is not a good enough label for cultures that vary from the city of Los Millares to the caves of central Spain. Professor Santa-Olalla himself realizes this in part and in his analysis of the Iron Age has had to distinguish between a Celtic and an Iberic Iron Age. Modified throughout in this way, and turned into a chronological scheme, this *Esquema* might well become the basis of a new Spanish prehistory.

GLYN E. DANIEL

**The Folklore of Chios.** By Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose. C.U.P., 1949. 2 vols. Pp. 1200, map and text figures. Price £7 7s.

124

Dr. Argenti comes of a distinguished Chiote family and has exceptional opportunities of collecting the folklore of his island. He has also drawn on the collections of Dr. Sebastian Vios, a local antiquary, and he has had the assistance of Professor H. J. Rose, formerly of St. Andrews University.

He has amassed an immense amount of information, and classified it under Popular Occupations, with tools and processes, the Visible and Invisible World, Birth, Marriage, Death, Calendar Customs, Folk Medicine and Folktales, in the first volume; in the second, Drolls and other tales, Folk Songs, Proverbs, Riddles, Wishes and Greetings, Games. There are appendices on Peasant Dress, Pastoral Life, Cooking Recipes, Proverbs of Climate and Seasons, Fasts, etc. Professor R. M. Dawkins contributes a list of plants, Dr. Malcolm A. Smith, of animals; and there are some statistics of the island and the town of Chios.

With such wealth of material there is perhaps little room for commentary, but the result is rather unwieldy, and does not present this interesting island against the general background of modern Greek life. Some of the collecting is indiscriminate; the implements include types which are of modern European introduction (so too the cardigan jacket in fig. 75); the climate proverbs need an account of the climate as well as particular kinds of weather; the village festivals, some account of the saints and the rituals, though something is included in Calendar Customs. There is, however, a very copious index.

JOHN L. MYRES



**Struktura Antropologiczna Polski w świetle materiałów Wojskowego Zdjęcia Antropologicznego (The Anthropological Structure of Poland in the Light of the Polish War Office's Materials).** By Ireneusz Michalski. *Acta Anthropologica Universitatis Lodziensis*, Vol. I, with appendix volume. Lodz, 1949.

This modest book contains a minute analysis of anthropological material mainly of central and south-western pre-war Poland, but other pre-war provinces of Poland, especially her eastern now incorporated into Soviet Russia, are also well represented there. In total 36,532 individuals from 98 districts were included. The analysis of the peculiarities of the anthropological types has been done by means of the morphological method of 'over-pluses of the quantities,' and additionally supported by a similar analysis of eight anthropological series of other countries, viz. two Lusatian, two Lapp, and one each of Norwegian, Welsh and Gypsy. This analysis is illustrated by a great many diagrams and graphs in the text,

and by over 300 diagrams and 16 maps in an appendix volume. The author distinguishes sixteen racial groups among the population of Poland, eight of them—the Nordic, Cromagnonoid, Armenoid, Laponoid and Highlands races—embracing the bulk of the population, the rest being slight admixtures and hybrid groups (mongrels) of the main types. The author states that the experimental test of the results of his anthropological analysis—passed according to the method of the 'anthropological arithmetical average' of J. Czekanowski, based on the five-trait canons—generally gave a positive result. This provides, according to the author, some evidence for a remarkable convergence between the inferred canons and the biological constant of the races.

Finally, he attempts a reconstruction of the development of the Polish anthropological territory towards its present state.

A long summary in English is added and all the diagrams and graphs are provided with explanatory notes in English.

T. SULIMIRSKI

## OCEANIA

**Black War: The Extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines.** By Clive Turnbull. Melbourne and London (Cheshire, Wadley), 1948. Pp. xiii, 274. Price 25s.

It is many years since detailed accounts of the grim story of the extermination of the Tasmanian aborigines were published, and Bouwrick's book of 1870 and Calder's of 1875 have grown old upon our bookshelves. The author of the present work has done good service in exploring the archives again to remind those who are especially concerned in the control and welfare of native peoples that the survival of these may still depend upon the forbearance and constructive sympathy of the white man, whether administrator or settler. The Tasmanian aborigines, living by hunting and food-gathering, on an island of about half the size of England, are believed to have numbered only a few thousands—one estimate quoted by Mr. Turnbull going as low as 700, the highest reaching 8000. Between 1803 and 1876 the whole population was exterminated. Since the first English posts to be established contained many convicts as well as soldiers and a few free settlers, it is not surprising that opportunities for quarrels between whites and blacks led to affrays and deaths; and that government benevolence from the home country lost some of its effectiveness in transmission. In England itself in the early years of the nineteenth century the humanitarian outlook was still very obscure, whilst the penal system was one of brutality and vindictiveness. The story told by the author of this book need not be summarized here, but he must be complimented on the lucid and engrossing result of his investigation into the contemporary records in government decrees, proclamations and memoranda, in newspaper reports and elsewhere. Suffice it to say that the aborigines were doomed from the start, since stones, clubs, and spears were no match for firearms in the hands of the better organized soldiers and settlers. Robberies, assaults, rapes, stonings, clubbings, shootings, reprisals and counter-reprisals had their inevitable results, and the process of extermination was completed by drives, round-ups and segregation in what we should now call concentration camps, where disease, drink and boredom hastened the end. There are now some 230,000 inhabitants, mainly of English stock, and the island is a flourishing component of the Dominion of Australia; but of the aborigines there remain only a few, a very few, museum specimens, in the shape of skeletal remains and rare examples of the crude tools, weapons, utensils, and other artifacts that characterized their simple material culture. Of their customs and manner of life even less is known. It was not part of Mr. Turnbull's intention to discuss the ethnography of the

Tasmanian blacks, and it is perhaps too much to suggest that he has said the last word on the tragedy of their fate; but it is probable that as regards the facts he has left very little that is essential for any one else to say.

Short though it is, Dr. Ian Hogbin's Introduction to the book has importance for its bearing on the present treatment of the aborigines of the mainland of Australia itself. These are still far more numerous than the Tasmanian blacks ever were, and Dr. Hogbin emphasizes the continuing existence of an aboriginal problem. He says 'there is no cause for us to congratulate ourselves on what we are doing for the aborigines,' and he believes that 'the real solution is the energetic adoption of a policy of assimilation, bringing the aborigines into our culture and making them Australian citizens.' Only those who have had opportunity of studying the aborigines themselves at close quarters, can form an opinion on the possibility of such a solution, but Dr. Hogbin's views must carry great weight, and all anthropologists would welcome the success of such an enterprise.

H. S. HARRISON

**The Exploration of the Pacific.** By J. G. Beaglehole. London (Black), 1947. Pp. xv, 411. Price 21s.

Written in New Zealand and first published in 1934, this is a straightforward account of some fifteen well-known explorers and of the search for the *terra australis incognita*. Interspersed with the exploits of seamanship and of new lands are short notes on the native peoples as observed by these explorers. The study of the Pacific is now too vast for any single-volume work, but the present book, sound and well written, forms an attractive introduction.

J. M. MOGEY

**The Armytage Collection of Maori Jade.** By K. A. Webster. London (Cable Press), 1948. Pp. 79, including 35 plates. Price 10s. 6d.

The principal value of this small book, of which 69 pages are taken up by good photographs and accompanying explanations, lies in the fact that all the pieces illustrated are, or will soon be, in New Zealand and not available for study in this country. In a foreword Mr. Webster gives a history of the Armytage Collection, which was substantially based on the Donne Collection, and that in turn on the White Collection. The majority of the specimens are *hei-tiki*, and for each the measurements, locality and history are printed on the opposite page. This book will be useful to students and collectors.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

## PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**The Physique of Young Adult Males.** By W. J. Martin. M.R.C. Memo. No. 20. London (H.M.S.O.), 1949. Pp. 66. Price 1s. 3d.

These statistics have been extracted from data obtained at the medical examination of men aged 20 to 21 years, made under the Military Training Act of 1939. Only those examinations

made prior to the outbreak of war were used, since during this period exemptions were minimum. Although the reasons for exemptions were listed, there is no indication of the number of men exempted. The group of men examined was nearer to being a 'random' sample than any other group previously examined and so comparisons are apt to be misleading. This is also particularly



true of the figures obtained in 1918, since this group of men consisted mainly of rejects from previous examinations. The 1939 figures provide a standard against which future data may be compared, but considered by themselves they provide several interesting facts. It is gratifying to find that 81.4 per cent. of these young men were placed in Grade I. The countryman still has a markedly better physique than the townsman, in spite of the improved condition of

town life. The countryman's advantage is most marked in his acuity of vision. Migrants show, on the average, a greater physique than the native population and it is suggested that the more physically fit migrate. The regional analysis shows a very high proportion of Grade I men in the towns of the distressed areas and poorer London boroughs and no attempt is made to suggest its cause.

H. BUTLER

## CORRESPONDENCE

### A Malayan Comb (Illustrated)

**130** SIR,—The woman's wooden comb shown in the photograph (fig. 1), which Major P. D. R. Williams-Hunt has given to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, was obtained by him from a Témér group living at Kuala Lëgap on the River Plus, Perak, Malaya ( $4^{\circ}56'N.$ ,  $101^{\circ}18'E.$ ). It is the only comb of its kind known and is remarkable for being carved with a human figure on each side. Enquiries have failed to

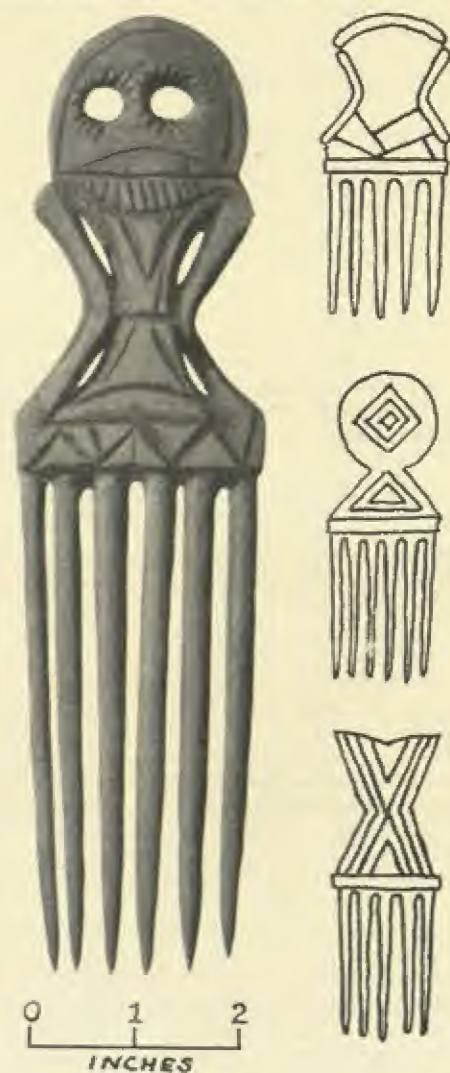


FIG. 1

discover the meaning of this figure. The sketches show kinds of wooden combs in use among nearby Témér groups and they seem to be highly stylized human figures; the two upper ones are from the middle Plus River and the bottom one is from the Témor River. The area is not very far from the opened-up lands, but as usual next to nothing is known about the aboriginal inhabitants (Sënoi).

Raffles Museum, Singapore

H. D. COLLINGS

### A Thatching Implement ? (Illustrated)

**131** SIR,—In 1940 a spoon or ladle-shaped implement (fig. 1) was found at Old Farm, Chalton, a hamlet in the parish of Toddington, Bedfordshire, and was presented to Luton Museum. The farm, which is probably of sixteenth-century date and originally thatched, was for many years derelict. The implement was discovered at the purlins during the stripping of the roof for renovation. Nothing further was found in the roof, but several coins (none earlier than 1750) were apparently found at the bottom of a well belonging to the farm.

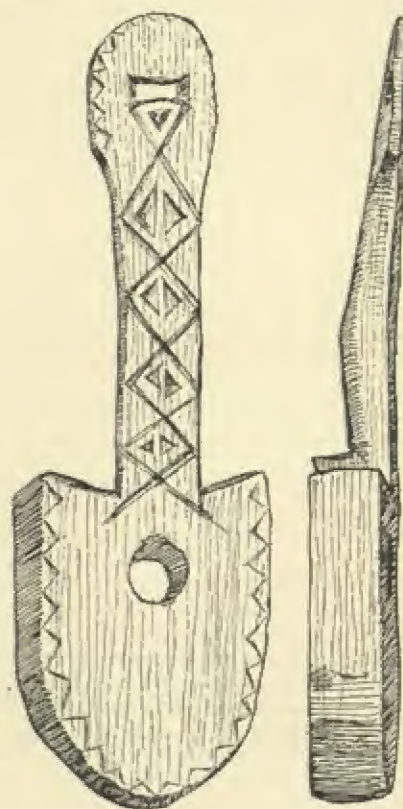


FIG. 1

The tool, which is made of ash, is decorated with chip carving and does not appear to be of great age. It measures  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The spade-shaped blade was 2 inches wide in its original state (now rather worm-eaten down one side) and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; the hole in it is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch diameter. The underside of the blade is bruised and slightly hollowed by wear, due to its having been used for tapping.

Two possible uses for the implement have been suggested: (i) a form of tiny bat or spud, such as is used by thatchers for knocking in spits or sprays, or (ii) for straightening the spits or sprays. Objection to the use of the tool for any bending purposes is raised by the soft nature of the wood used. Can any reader of MAN suggest the use to which this unusual implement was put?

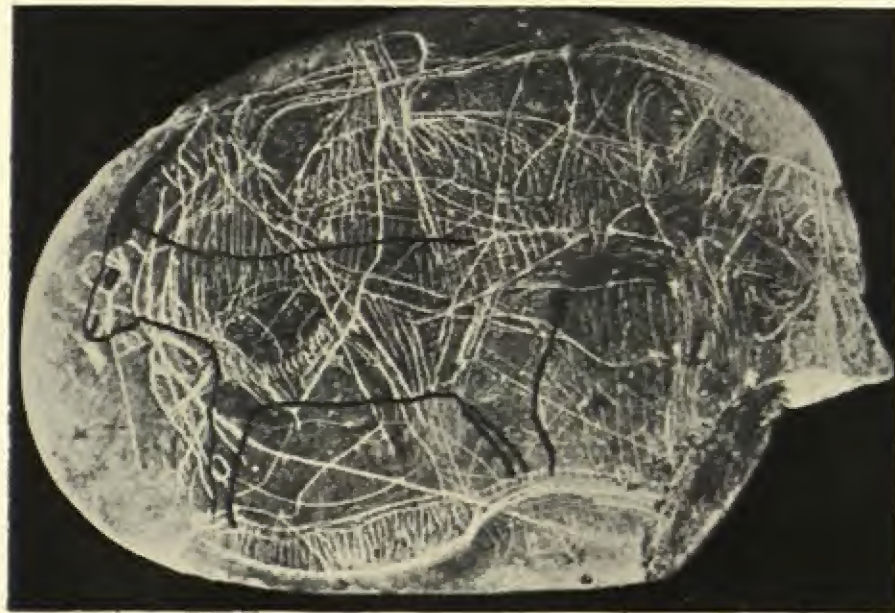
Cambridge

T. W. BAGSHAWE









PEBBLE FROM LA COLOMBIÈRE WITH SUPERIMPOSED ANIMAL DESIGNS

*Length 4½ inches: the figures of a horse (a) and an ibex or antelope (b) are outlined in black: photographs by Dr. H. L. Movius, jr., published in Illustrated London News, 23 April, 1949*



LIMESTONE SLAB WITH ENGRAVING OF BISON,  
ABRI DE LA GRENIÈRE, SERRIÈRES-SUR-AIN

*Length c. 4½ inches*



POLYCHROME PAINTING OF A BISON, FONT-DE-  
GAUME, NEAR LES EYZIES, DORDOGNE



# THE 'SKETCH BOOK' OF AN AURIGNACIAN ARTIST\*

by

PROFESSOR W. KOPPERS

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**I32** During the summer of 1947 Professor Kirk Bryan and Dr. Hallam Movius of Harvard University conducted excavations at La Colombière, 45 miles north-east of Lyon, France. Among other artifacts they found a relatively small pebble on which figures of animals are incised (see Plate Ga, b). The stone dates without any doubt from the Aurignacian period and the French authorities considered it so important that they declared it an *antiquité nationale*. According to the published reports,<sup>1</sup> the object measures four and three-quarter by three and one-quarter by one and one-eighth inches. On each side of the pebble we see the incised outlines of five or six superimposed animal figures. Among these the figures of a horse, a reindeer, an ibex and a rhinoceros have been identified. The artistic quality of the drawing is remarkably high.

Pebbles of the same size, but without engravings, were found all over the place. Dr. Movius was puzzled by the fact that the ancient artist had not used a different pebble for every animal picture, but had superimposed them all on the same pebble. He concluded that this must have had some magical reason and that that particular stone must have been believed to be loaded with the power of *mana*. The artist or artists would in this case have incised the animal figures not for æsthetic but for magical purposes.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Movius called this a tentative explanation. I confess that I have some doubts concerning its correctness, and I believe that the interesting find can be explained without assuming magical motives in the mind of the Aurignacian artist. In this context an interesting case which a few decades ago was much discussed by archaeologists would seem to be relevant.<sup>3</sup> It concerned the remarkable similarity between the figure of a bison incised on a small slab of limestone found in southern France (Plate Gc) and another painted on the wall of a cave near Les Eyzies in the Dordogne (Plate Gd). Although these two works were discovered 200 miles apart, a number of prehistorians, like the Abbé Breuil, Othenio Abel, Herbert Kühn, and others, expressed the opinion that there was a definite connexion between the two, and that the incised figure on the stone slab was the actual sketch which had been used in producing the wall painting. The artist may have first worked from nature, engraving the figure on the stone, and this may later have been copied in the wall painting in the cave. The fact that not all the palæolithic cave paintings show the same perfection suggests that not all of them were copied from such sketches, but that in certain cases they may have been drawn from memory.

A few scholars disagreed with these views, and did not

believe that the two bison figures were connected. However, their criticism was contradicted by Othenio Abel, who as a palæontologist was a particularly competent judge in this matter; he pointed out that the two figures not only reveal the same style but correspond in every detail.<sup>4</sup> The exaggeration of the hump in both cases seems to me particularly significant. The assumption of a true connexion does not, however, imply that both figures must have been executed by the same person: such sketches on stone might very well have been kept for years or even for generations and copied by different artists.

There can be little doubt that the pebble from La Colombière covered with engraved figures of animals belongs to the same class of objects. The difference consists merely in the fact that in one case the slab contains the engraving of only one animal, while the artist of La Colombière used his pebble as a kind of sketch book, superimposing about half a dozen drawings upon each other on each side. No doubt he was able to distinguish the outlines of the various figures and to select the one which he wished to copy. He may even have marked the colour of the animal in his 'sketch book' before he started to reproduce it in a cave painting. The men who executed the magnificent paintings in the caves of Lascaux, Altamira, etc., must have been well able to handle the colours in the open also. The reason for making a series of drawings on a single pebble may very well have been a purely practical one: it was, of course, easier for the ancient hunter to carry one stone with him in his migrations than a dozen.

I think that the 'sketch book' of La Colombière sheds new light on the art of the Upper Palæolithic in general. I have for some time been sceptical of the magical theory to explain the cave paintings. Finds like this seem to be evidence rather of a fundamentally rational kind of artistic activity. One can easily understand that the palæolithic artists wished to protect their paintings from the inclemencies of the climate by executing them in caves.

Of course, I do not deny that the art of the Palæolithic may have served also religious, pseudo-religious or magical purposes. However, the artistic-æsthetic motive must have been the basis for the creation and development of that art, to whatever extent it may subsequently have been used for religious or magical aims.<sup>5</sup>

The rational element in the thinking, the activities and particularly the art of primitive man have been frequently underestimated. As I have tried to show, this rational element may have existed in considerable strength in the Aurignacian period in Europe, and prehistorians will be well advised not to rely exclusively on magical theories in the explanation of cultural phenomena the basis of which

\* With Plate G



is not accessible to direct observation. It would seem that caution in this respect is particularly to be recommended with regard to those cultures of the more primitive hunters which have not yet been affected by the development of overwhelmingly strong ceremonialism.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Movius, Jr., 'Excavations at the Prehistoric Rock Shelter of La Colombière,' *Archaeology*, Vol. II (1949), pp. 22-30. Cf. *Illustrated London News*, 23 April, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> 'It is therefore tentatively concluded that the primary significance of this very fine object, from the point of view of the people who actually lived at La Colombière during the closing phases of the Ice Age, was not the beautiful engravings so carefully executed on its surfaces, but the fact that it was the medium by which it was possible to commune directly with the spirits of the animal world for the purpose of successfully replenishing the all-important food supply.'

<sup>3</sup> O. Abel, *Palaeobiologica*, Wien, 1933, pp. 7ff.

<sup>4</sup> O. Abel, *l.c.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also H. Kühn, *Kunst und Kultur der Vorzeit Europas: Das Paläolithikum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929, p. 503.

## GHOSTLY VENGEANCE AMONG THE LUO OF KENYA

by

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**I33** In one form or another the word *cien*, and in some degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cien* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acien* for the Dinka, *acieni* for the Anuak, *tehien* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *lacen* for the Acholi, and *chyen* for the Lango.

Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of Kenya. Roscoe (*The Northern Bantu*, 1915, pp. 285f. and 289) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparent and the sick person's father there offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

A troublesome ghost is called *jacien* (plur. *jociendi*), a word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1920, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cieno* and the noun *cien* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person haunting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and beaten; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

unsettled quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives; and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after his death, it may be supposed that this representation is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat 'You will see me,' meaning that when the person is dead he will haunt those who have neglected him unless they make amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and resentful who cause trouble.

Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compensate (*colo*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first tethered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes an invocation (*lamo*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub its back (*wiro*) with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards sacrifice it. The meat is eaten by the sick man's kin and a strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a magician called *mugalu* to protect the sick man's homestead. He buries a pot containing medicines in or just outside the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble they summon an exorcist (*jadilo*). He first sacrifices an ox and warns the dead man that if he is not content with this sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave and pours boiling water down it.



It seems that normally it is only kinsmen who haunt a man, but any man who kills another, whether he be related to him or not, is in danger of ghostly vengeance. For this reason a Luo does not care to spear an adulterer found with his wife. Also, as Roscoe says, a man who slays another in war may be injured by his ghost if certain rites are not performed. These purificatory rites, called *gut*, are conducted by a man, called *jagut*, who has himself killed a man and been through the ceremony. The slayer comes back from the fight to his homestead with a crowd of his companions, who make a demonstration there, singing and pulling out the eaves of his mother's hut. His father and mother strip themselves and cover their bodies with ashes. The slayer remains outside the homestead and there the *jagut* pierces the beak of a fowl and hangs it round his neck. He then cuts the beak of the fowl and it is killed when it falls. The slayer may now enter the homestead, but not through the gateway. A special entrance is cut for him through the euphorbia hedge which encircles the homestead.

He goes straight to the hut of the *pim*, the old woman of the home, and there a goat is thumped and kicked to death. Afterwards it is skinned and cut open. The heart is extracted and bits of it are put by the *jagut* to the lips of the slayer and of some of his companions. He cuts strips from the skin of the goat and lays them along the backs of the slayer's fingers. He also gives the slayer medicines, among them a wild pig's tusk, which the slayer wears round his neck. The man is now purified and may drink milk again. Roscoe's account is very different from that given to me by Luo, which I have recounted above.

Clearly there is much more to be discovered about Luo beliefs about ghosts than what I have recorded, but I can only add to my account that the word *jociendi* is sometimes used for ghosts in general—and not with special reference to troublesome ghosts—and that some ghosts appear to be thought to become nature spirits dwelling in water and in the air, and others to occupy the gourds used by diviners and to answer questions the diviners put to them.

## HUTS AND HUT-BUILDING AMONG THE BEMBA: PART I\*

by

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**134** The traditional dwelling house of the Bemba<sup>1</sup> is a round wattle-and-daub hut, with a conical grass roof with overhanging eaves, which in the case of larger houses are supported on posts which ring a circular veranda. The huts are usually whitewashed and sometimes ornamented with designs (see Part II, Plate H); when they have been newly thatched, with the grass trimmed evenly to make a level edge, they have a neat and attractive appearance, more especially as they are usually built on mounds to raise them out of the mud in rainy weather (see fig. 1). Such huts are typical of the north-eastern plateau of Northern Rhodesia, and although they are being ousted by rectangular huts at the present time, the round house was still the commonest in 1934 when I made my observations there, and was usual for ceremonial huts in the chiefs' quarters.<sup>2</sup>

Rectangular huts (see fig. 2) are thought by the Bemba to have been introduced by Europeans, and they may be right in their opinion, but such houses are of course common in the Congo, and I have been told by old chiefs that they were occasionally found in Bemba country before the arrival of Europeans. Moreover, as will be seen, the rectangular hut is produced by a modification of the method of building used for the round hut; it is in no sense a new design. The advantage of the rectangular hut, in native eyes, is that it can be easily divided into rooms, giving a bedroom and a sitting room; European furniture,

such as tables and cupboards, also fits flat against the walls. It has a prestige value in that it is thought to be more modern and more European. In fact, here and there men attempt to build a two-storey house of wattle-and-daub in order to imitate European houses more closely. These are top-heavy edifices built by joining together the uprights



FIG. 1. EXAMPLE OF A GOOD BEMBA HUT SHOWING VERANDA AND POSTS

*Photographs: Dr. A. I. Richards*

\* With two text figures. Part II, an illustrated account of the technique of house-building, will follow in the August issue of MAN



with bark rope; the top storey has a veranda and is approached by an outside ladder. The two I saw in 1934 were built by young men back from the mines, and were regarded rather as architectural curiosities than as useful models for the average householder.

### *The Size of Huts*

Bemba houses vary somewhat in circumference and also in the size and type of veranda. In fact, one of the few ways in which social status can be marked is by the presence or absence of a veranda and by its width and important-looking appearance. From the figures given in Table I it will be seen that the diameters of some huts in the Kasama area varied from 9 feet to 15 feet 9 inches with an average of 12 feet 6 inches, while one of the ceremonial houses of chiefs reached a diameter of 28 feet 10 inches. The height of houses, on the other hand, varies



FIG. 2. ONE TYPE OF RECTANGULAR BEMBA HUT WITH DOUBLE ROOF APEX, BUT NO INTERIOR SUPPORT

very little. The figures given show that the height of hut walls varies between 5 feet 4 inches and 8 feet 8 inches. Ceremonial houses have walls of a very similar height. The apex of the roof varies much more, and in the case of the largest ceremonial hut reaches 14 feet 8 inches.

### *Building Problems*

In order to build a successful house, the Bemba depend on finding uprights, usually young saplings or branches which have grown hard and straight and have reached a diameter of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches to 3 inches. As tools they use only their axes made of hard-forged iron, with which they can chop and sharpen stakes or poles but cannot easily pierce wood or drill holes. They do not lengthen posts by any form of mortising; nor do they increase the length of a sapling by binding or nailing together two shorter posts.<sup>3</sup> They therefore depend for success entirely on the height of the forest vegetation around their village site, and on their knowledge of it. Suitable posts are hard to find in this countryside. The forest is of the savannah type, and since fires sweep the country every year, all but the most

resistant trees are destroyed; and even these are stunted and small.

It is for this reason, I think, that the average height of hut walls varies so little. Where there is a post of 14 feet 8 inches high, such as that used for the ceremonial house

TABLE I. MEASUREMENTS OF SOME TRADITIONAL BEMBA HOUSES IN THE KASAMA AREA (1934)\*

Ordinary round house No.	Height of wall	Height from roof apex to floor	Diameter	Veranda width	Door width
	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.
1	6 0	9 5	11 4	3 3	1 9
2	6 3	—	13 4	—	2 0
3	5 4	7 8	9 0	3 0	—
4	7 2	—	13 4	—	1 11
5	5 9	9 9	12 1	3 3	2 0
6	6 2	13 0	12 11	3 6	2 0
7	5 11	9 0	12 9	3 6	2 2
8	6 8	9 9	13 1	3 0	2 0
9	8 8	9 8	12 11	4 5	2 2
10	6 10	10 10	13 0	4 0	2 4
11	6 10	11 5	15 9	4 0	2 10
12	6 4	9 6	12 9	3 7	1 11
13	6 8	14 0	12 1	3 5	2 2
Ceremonial round house No.					
1	9 5	14 8	28 10	—	—
2	7 6	13 0	19 1	6 3	2 8
3	6 9	12 2	17 1	6 3	2 9
4	6 0	11 1	15 6	4 3	2 2
5	5 7	9 1	11 1	3 6	1 8

TABLE II. MEASUREMENTS OF SOME MODERN RECTANGULAR BEMBA HOUSES IN THE KASAMA AREA (1934)\*

House No.	Breadth	Length	Remarks
1	8 4	15 0	Two rooms
2	8 0	11 0	
3	7 11	4 8	Single room
4	7 7	10 7	
5	7 3	9 0	

\* I am indebted to the late Professor B. Malinowski, who visited me for a few weeks in Northern Rhodesia in 1934, for a number of these measurements. It was impossible for him to stand aloof from a field project, but he was of course unable to speak the language; he therefore decided to devote himself to technology, which he did with characteristic energy and thoroughness.

of a chief, it has usually been fetched from some distance away and may even have been bought.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, not all trees are suitable for building purposes; any adult Bemba will give a list of hard woods that are specially useful for this purpose and will mention as a reason for selecting a particular village site the fact that trees of this kind are known to exist nearby.



Another difficulty is that of finding means of supporting transverse rods or the circular withies of a roof framework. When making platforms, tables or beds, the Bemba merely tie transverse rods to the uprights and this is difficult to do securely unless the rods can be supported in natural forks of the upright. The same is true when support is required for roof or veranda framework, or in the case of the rectangular hut roof shown in Part II, fig. 1. They are thus dependent on finding at least some posts in the surrounding bush which not only are long but have a fork in a convenient place.

The third difficulty the Bemba face is the shortage of long grass suitable for thatching. Grass grows high only during the rainy period, unless the village is in the neighbourhood of swamps. A man who knows he will have to build a hut during the coming year must cut grass during the rainy season and store it until he needs it. A photograph in Part II, Plate Ha, shows bundles of grass drying on a roof in this way. Reeds and split bamboo for doors are also hard to find.

It will be seen that the Bemba need to keep an observant eye on the vegetation around them before making a hut. Men keep watch for good wall posts when going about their business, hunting or collecting firewood, and tell each other where suitable posts are to be found. Without this watchful interest in the bush surrounding their villages they would not be able to bring the enterprise to a successful conclusion.

### *The Time Factor and Temporary Huts*

The time taken to build a Bemba house varies. I have seen an ordinary dwelling house completed in four days when five men and about as many women were at work on it. The collection of building material, however, takes very much longer, and for this reason temporary huts (*mitanda*) are built by those who are living away from their villages to watch their crops ripen, or waiting to decide to join a new village, or fleeing from outraged public opinion or the tax-collector. Such grass huts take almost as long to build, but no searching of the bush for thick veranda posts or clay is involved. *Mitanda* are usually made square. The walls are made of posts bound together with bark strips. Bundles of grass are then spread against the wall and a binding strip put at the top, the middle and the bottom of both sides. The roof is made much as for the dwelling house, but the whole is more carelessly done and the *mitanda* are usually made to last for only one season.

### *The Bemba House in Use*

To the European, Bemba housing seems of a very temporary character. White ants destroy the walls and the roofs become infested with ticks which cause a serious infection. The thatch gets untidy and blown about and an old Bemba hut has a most derelict appearance. It is of course possible to repair windswept roofs or to make new ones, but the Bemba are shifting cultivators and their huts probably last as long as the period of the fertility of the

gardens, that is to say, four to six years, so that it is not worth while remaking them.

The Bemba house is cool and dark. There are no windows, except in some of the rectangular houses, and light comes into the house only through the doorway, which is left open all day; at night it is lit by firelight. Ventilation, such as it is, is provided by slight irregularities in the wall height which prevent the roof from fitting too snugly; smoke escapes through the thatch, and the roof and the rafters are blackened after a few weeks' habitation.

The round hut cannot easily be divided into rooms and there are in fact no partitions in a Bemba house. Only one main activity can go on at a time, usually cooking by day and entertainment or sleeping by night. The veranda round the house is used for all other activities, such as grinding millet, entertaining friends and sheltering in wet weather. The more important members of the community have not only larger houses but larger verandas; it will be seen from Table I that some of the ceremonial huts of chiefs have verandas as much as six feet in width, and they regularly use these as waiting rooms for courtiers. Young couples or old widows living alone build small huts without verandas.

The centre of the life of a Bemba hut is the fireplace, made of three conical clay supports, on which the big cooking pots stand when cooking or beer-making takes place. Above the fireplace is a drying rack made of four forked sticks, about four feet high, sharpened and driven into the ground. Transverse rods are tied with bark rope into the forks of the supports, and a number of crossbars lashed on to make a platform. Round the wall there may be additional stands for cooking pots, and there is certainly a bed made on similar principles to the drying rack, that is to say, with four forked uprights driven into the ground at a height of about six inches and carrying a similar platform. There is no other furniture in the Bemba house, except for a stool or possibly a drum. Bows and arrow slings hang from notches in the walls, and medicines or seeds are kept in empty gourds stuck in the eaves. Clothes hang from the rafters and there are few means of hiding possessions except in the granary. Bemba are obliged by custom to share food, beer and other supplies, but the lack of cupboards, boxes or other containers in their houses is a most effective sanction for these rules.

In spite of the impermanent nature of the Bemba village, every effort is made to secure a sense of continuity with the old village. When a new hut is built a rafter must be brought from the old and inserted in the roof of the new.<sup>5</sup> Deserted sites are honoured by the Bemba and are spoken of with affection. Ancestral spirits are thought to move from one site to another, since these are generally in the near neighbourhood, and among the most important rites associated with chieftainship are the ceremonies centred in the building of the chief's new village and the moving of his sacred relics to the new spot.

### *Notes*

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Dr. E. R. Leach for suggestions for the improvement of this account.



<sup>2</sup> A count of the huts in Kasaka village in the Mpika district in 1934 showed fifteen round and ten rectangular huts. There were five round huts with verandas, those of heads of extended families, and ten without; those of young couples or widows.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Except in the case of the modern two-storey houses described above.

<sup>4</sup> The Bemba buy tree trunks for making canoes in the same way.

Where trees are entirely lacking, as in swampy country, the houses are built with reeds.

<sup>5</sup> So did the Norsemen, faring west-over-sea to escape from the tyranny of Harold Hairfair, take with them the two great high-seat pillars of the homes they had left in Norway and throw them overboard when they came in sight of Iceland, setting them up in a new stead where they came to rest on the uninhabited shore.—ED.

## OBITUARY

Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister: 8 July, 1870-26 April, 1950

**I35** This learned and versatile scholar was the son of Alexander Macalister, Professor of Anatomy at Dublin and later at Cambridge, many of whose wide interests he inherited. He was born in Dublin and educated at Rathmines School and, after a period of study in Germany, at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was an active 'brass-rubber' and wrote a convenient handbook of *Ecclesiastical Vestments*. But he was already drawn to Celtic studies and the archaeology of Ireland, and had begun the publication of his *Studies in Irish Epigraphy* (1897-1907) when he was invited by the Palestine Exploration Fund to assist the veteran Dr. F. J. Bliss in the excavation of Gezer and other early sites in the Philistine lowland. Here he brought light and order into an archaeological backwater where normal Mycenaean pottery was labelled 'Painted pre-Jewish,' though Petrie's brilliant reconnaissance at Tell-el Hesi had already opened new prospects in 1892. The smaller sites, Tell-es-Safi and Tell-Zakhariyeh, were published in 1902; Gezer was not finished till 1912, but a popular summary appeared in 1906. The Schweich Lectures on *The Philistines* followed in 1913. In 1921 appeared his *History of Civilization in Palestine*, and in 1922-24 he was excavating on the Hill of Ophel at Jerusalem with Rev. J. D. G. Duncan, for the Palestine Fund (*P.E.F. Ann.*, Vol. IV, 1922-25); and in 1926 he published *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*. Meanwhile, at home, besides smaller essays in Irish folklore and early history, he had published in 1921 his *Ireland in Pre-Celtic*

*Times*, and supplemented it in 1927 by the *Archaeology of Ireland*, 1927, and *Ancient Ireland*, 1935. His *Textbook of European Archaeology*, Vol. I (1921), appeared almost at the same time as Burkitt's volume, and was not continued.

All this was concurrent with zealous and inspiring work since 1909 in the new Chair of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Dublin, where he created a flourishing school of archaeology in the widest sense, with excavations at Uisneach with Dr. R. L. Praeger (1929) and at Tara (1931), on which he had already written in 1918. At last in 1945 he was in a position to begin the production of his *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* (Vol. I, 1945) covering the British Isles: this (it is hoped) may in due time be completed; since in 1943 he had given up his work in Dublin and settled in Cambridge.

Besides these varied contributions to learning Macalister devoted much time to the administration of organizations, such as the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, the Cumbrian Archaeological Association, the Ancient Monuments Advisory Council and the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the Irish Free State. He was an accomplished musician, organist and choirmaster for many years of the Adelaide Road Church, Dublin, composer of a Suite in D Minor for piano and violin (1927) and member of the committee for the revision of the Presbyterian Church Hymnary. Visitors to Dublin, or to his camp in Palestine, will remember his cheery presence and generous help in their various studies.

JOHN L. MYRES

## REVIEWS

### AFRICA

*La Langue secrète des Dogons de Sanga.* By Michel Leiris. *Trav. et Mém. de l'Inst. d'Éthn.*, Vol. L. Paris, 1948. Pp. xxxii, 530

**I36** This study of the *Awa*, Men's Society, and of the secret language employed in its rites, is the seventh lengthy study of aspects of Dogon life to appear and is an important addition to our knowledge of this people who inhabit the cliffs of Bandiagara and Hombori in the French Sudan. M. Leiris points out that, since Griaule's *Masques Dogons* included a sociological study of the *Awa*, his own task is properly linguistic. This implied limitation of interest is not, in fact, borne out, though his book is perhaps most usefully to be read in conjunction with those sections of Paulme's *Organisation Sociale*, Dieterlen's *Ames des Dogons* and Griaule's *Masques Dogons* which are devoted to sociological accounts of the *sigi*, the funerary and the second burial rites.

Most of the book is devoted to many annotated texts, in the secret language, concerning the myths of origin of the *Awa*, the coming of death to the Dogon, the formulae used in initiating young men into the *Awa*, the praises of the dead, the speeding of the souls of the dead and so on. In the final section the secret language is analysed phonologically, grammatically, syntactically and lexically. All this not only provides data for linguistic comparisons, especially with the Mole languages and the secret language

of the *Waongo* dancers of the Mossi, but also throws light on the cultural affiliations of the Dogon themselves.

The texts are preceded by an introductory essay. This includes discussions of such linguistic problems as the probable origin of the secret language and a consideration of the language of ritual and that of poetry in ordinary Dogon. Among the most interesting sections of the introduction is M. Leiris's discussion of the 'idea of the *Awa*' as an aspect of the male 'generative power' and his discussion of the emphasis within the Men's Society on generation difference, which results from age-set stratification, as related to the attainment and decline of sexual vigour. This 'male generative power' has also its dangerous aspect and this aspect he contrasts with the dangerous aspect of female 'generative power' symbolized by the Dogon in their beliefs concerning menstruation. One may well feel, however, that were the structure of the *Awa* more fully analysed this opposition would not be seen as that of mutually exclusive forces. It can be shown that the Men's Society unites members of the segments of one maximal lineage. All the authors assert the exclusion of women from the *Awa*, yet tell us that daughters of the lineage married outside the region must return with gifts and remain at their fathers' homes during *Awa* rites. Again, while women, according to Paulme, seem to dance only at women's funerals and the funeral of the Hogen (the senior lineage



head and chief priest of the maximal lineage), yet the young men dance in female masks representing the 'Smith's Daughter,' the 'Peul Woman,' etc., thus deliberately introducing the female principle in a special guise. Further, the role of the *yasigine*, or priestess, in the *Awa* needs examination; special attention should be given to the relation of this priestess to the system of lineage segmentation, since M. Leiris tells us that one such priestess comes from each village or quarter. Just as Paulme over-emphasized patrilineal kinship at the expense of matrilineal kinship, so, I think, does M. Leiris underestimate the place of the female principle in his discussion of it as contrasted with the male principle.

It will be seen that M. Leiris is, in part of his work, continuing that study of the system of cosmological and metaphysical ideas of which Griaule has written on several occasions. While much valuable data on this subject is contained in this volume, it also raises some new structural problems. For example, there is some disharmony between Leiris and Griaule on the organization of the *Awa*. M. Leiris speaks of it in terms of the two Ogol villages, while Griaule speaks of it in terms of the region of Upper Sanga and of the region of Lower Sanga. This disharmony may result from the fact that M. Leiris relied, unless I have misunderstood him, on but two informants, both of whom came from the village of Lower Ogol. Similarly, the Missions Griaule have concentrated in the main on the region of Upper Sanga, a region in which the dominant maximal lineage belongs to the Dyon tribe. Since, however, there exists some special relation between the Arou tribe and the coming of death to the Dogon and hence to the *Awa* society, the structure and organization of the *Awa* of a predominantly Arou tribe region could usefully have been studied and compared with the structure and organization of the *Awa* as it is known in Upper Sanga.

While some work remains to be done on the 'context of situation' of the texts presented here, there is much that is of great value to social anthropologists and linguists alike, more especially perhaps to the latter. This book is an important contribution to that programme of study set out by Professor J. R. Firth, the study of language on the phonological, grammatical, syntactical, lexical and semantic levels.

DAVID TAIT

**Dictionary of the Hausa Language.** By R. C. Abraham. London (Crown Agents for the Colonies, for the Government of Nigeria), 1949. Pp. xxvii, 992. Price £1

**137** Major Abraham, a scholar of diverse linguistic attainments and considerable local experience as an administrative and anthropological officer in Northern Nigeria, has produced in compact form an extremely comprehensive dictionary of Hausa, the mother tongue of some three and a half million British subjects living in Nigeria (as well as of at least another million in French West Africa), and the *lingua franca* of the Royal West African Frontier Force and much of the West Coast of Africa.

Whilst in no way superseding the monumental *Hausa-English Dictionary* compiled by the Rev. G. P. Bargery, D.Litt. (Oxford University Press, 1934), in which Major Abraham collaborated, this new dictionary has added much to the systematic definition and exemplification of many words, especially prepositions and other grammatical particles. It is indeed just such common words in any language that are apt to receive all too scant attention in dictionaries, but require the most careful analysis and illustration to clarify their meaning and function. Major Abraham's dictionary has a wealth of grammatically and contextually illustrative sentences drawn largely from current Hausa literature, including the vernacular press, each with a free (at times perhaps too free) English translation. Particular attention has been paid to the metaphorical, idiomatic and epigrammatic use of words, and a large number of Hausa clichés, proverbs and epithetic phrases are included, far more than are usually given in a dictionary. Furthermore, the words, especially the verbs, are treated in accordance with a grammatical system which is partially explained in the introduction and amplified in the text with cross-references to *A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa* by the same author (Stephen Austin, 1941). This last feature is perhaps a drawback to the dictionary, in that it is not completely self-contained.

Full attention is given to the important semantic and morphological feature of Hausa, tone. The new dictionary, while effectively simplifying the system of tonal representation established in Dr. Bargery's dictionary, has not departed therefrom in any essential respect and has emphasized their importance by marking all tones, not only of head words, but also of all Hausa words in the text.

All lexicographers from Dr. Johnson downwards have inevitably been something of individualists, and there is much in Major Abraham's dictionary, both in its admission (or non-admission) and interpretation of words, that is dogmatic and subjective and that other Hausa scholars would cavil at. But, be that as it may, the dictionary is the product of an astounding feat of industry and devotion by a man who was not at the time of compiling it a professional linguist, whose linguistic researches were at no time concentrated on Hausa, and who, as he himself says in the preface, had to complete the work while on army service in many different parts of the world. And it will be invaluable as a practical aid and guide to those numerous Europeans and Africans of other tongues and races who have to wrestle in the field with a most highly complex, flexible, subtle and sophisticated language. Who after a mere glance at any one of the longer articles in it would ever again dare to dub an African language as 'primitive,' or incapable of representing the finer shades of human thought and feeling?

Criticism is often the sincerest form of praise, and there are three points to criticise in this dictionary, two major and academic, the other minor and psychological. First, the perpetuation of the traditional intermingling of words beginning with the letters *h* and *δ*, *d* and *δ*, *k* and *k̄*, and *t* and *ts*, pairs of letters which represent sounds as significantly different to a Hausa as do, for instance, *f* and *p*, or *b* and *v* to an Englishman. No one compiling an English dictionary for Hausas would dream of not separating these pairs of letters because their distinction is non-significant to and not easily recognized by a Hausa. Why, then, follow the reverse procedure in compiling a Hausa dictionary for Englishmen? Secondly, many grammatical forms of words, e.g. verbal participial and other derivative forms and finite verb forms in *-o* and *-u* are not shown, except incidentally in the illustrative sentences, and to understand their significance recourse must be had to the grammar or to the earlier dictionary. Possibly this omission was dictated by considerations of space. Finally, experience has shown that it takes nearly twice as long to look up a word in this dictionary as in Dr. Bargery's, simply because in the former all the Hausa words are printed in heavy black (Clarendon) type with no distinction but a small one of spacing between the head words and the rest. Is it too much to hope that this practical defect in typography will be remedied in a subsequent edition?

F. W. PARSONS

**Robert Broom Commemorative Volume.** Special Publication of the Royal Society of South Africa. Edited by Alex. L. du Toit, F.R.S. Cape Town, 1948. Pp. 257, v, illus. Price 22s.

**138** This important *Festschrift* was issued in honour of the eightieth birthday of Dr. Robert Broom, F.R.S. The volume is made up of contributions from scientists of many nationalities, eminent in those lines of research wherein Dr. Broom has done such distinguished work. There are 22 original papers grouped round three main themes: the fossil reptiles of the Karroo formation, fossil hominoids and early man, and zoological studies centering on evolution. The volume includes a review of Dr. Broom's life (by Mr. Austin Roberts of the Transvaal Museum) and a list of his 400 published works, arranged chronologically.

The various essays bearing on human evolution contain a great deal of factual information not readily accessible elsewhere, as well as stimulating sallies in various fields of controversy dear to Dr. Broom's heart. Professor Raymond Dart writes on the infancy of *Australopithecus*. The South African man-apes show features indicating protracted infancy, and this accords with the view that upright posturing and the habit of manipulating food (which makes possible a masticatory dentition) arose in the Hominidæ through a lengthening of the period of parental dependence. A related theme is developed by Professor G. R. de Beer, who stresses the importance of Garstang's 'principle of pedomorphosis' in hominoid evolution—i.e. the retention in adult descendants of characters



peculiar to an infantile stage in the ancestors. Through this mode of evolution *Homo sapiens* could theoretically have had a Neanderthaloid ancestry. The opposite tendency has also operated, viz. the progressively earlier appearance of adult or specialized characters. In the evolutionary plexus of the Hominoidea there was evidently, according to Professor de Beer, a line of descent which led by means of pedomorphosis from a state close to *Australopithecus* to *Homo sapiens*; while gerontomorphosis at intervals claimed isolated victims, such as *Meganthropus*, *Pithecanthropus* (and may one not include here *Eoanthropus* and the extreme Neanderthals?). It is appropriate that Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in surveying discoveries of fossil Primates in East Africa should criticize the tendency to regard certain fossil skulls as early 'because' they show so-called archaic characters. Thus, there has been unjustified scepticism about the Upper Pleistocene age of 'Africanthropus' of Eyassi (Tanganyika), on the grounds that it shows features reminiscent of *Pithecanthropus*.

One of the most readable and illuminating chapters is that by Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark on differential rates of somatic evolution. Unexpected combinations of morphological characters are repeatedly found in the records of Primate evolution. *Pithecanthropus* had limb bones scarcely distinguishable from those of *Homo sapiens*. One need not be surprised then to find that at a lower evolutionary level the dentition and limb skeleton had reached a hominid stage while the brain was still of simian proportions. This was in fact the case with the *Australopithecines*.

Problems of brain evolution are considered by Mr. G. W. H. Schepers, who concludes on the basis of the sulcal patterns on endocranial casts that the *Australopithecines* had all the visual cortices which distinguish man. Franz Weidenreich, on the other hand, in a chapter on skull morphology in *Australopithecinae*, expresses scepticism about any form of phrenology, and is unwilling to regard the sylvan fissure area as the proved neural basis of vocal and manual dexterity.

Professor G. H. R. von Koenigswald compares the lower canine in *Plesianthropus* with that in other Primates, and concludes that it shows specialization unknown in Hominidae. But as Professor de Beer points out, transmutation is so often by the 'mosaic' method of substitution; so that the appearance of isolated features of specialization in the *Australopithecines* does not preclude a close relationship with man's immediate ancestors.

Mr. Austin Roberts argues that man originated in the Palearctic region, and that the *Australopithecines* were endpoints of the earliest southward migrating wave of evolving hominids. Dr. L. H. Wells reviews the growth of knowledge about the pre-Negro invaders of South Africa, a subject in which much of the progress has been due to Dr. Broom. Early arrivals in Middle Stone Age times were presumably Australoids (e.g. Florisbad and Cape Flats skulls), which later mixed with early 'Koranas' (as indicated by the Fishoek and Springbok Flats skulls); and then (according to Dr. Broom) came the Boskop type, which degenerated into the Bushmen. As yet nothing can be said about the racial types inhabiting South Africa in Older Stone Age times, but Professor C. van Riet Lowe draws attention to the promising discovery of Chellio-Acheulian occupation debris in a cave in the Makapansgat, Northern Transvaal. Professor l'Abbé Breuil discusses the racial types depicted in the South African rock paintings; but interpretation in this field of study appears fraught with difficulty. K. P. OAKLEY

**Clever Hands of the African Negro.** By W. D. Hambly. Washington, D.C. (Associated Publishers), 1945. Pp. xiv, 192, and 74 illustrations. Price \$2.65

Dr. Hambly has added to his many services to anthropology by producing this excellent introduction to African material culture for American schoolchildren in the fifth grade (i.e., I understand, about eleven years old). A wealth of interesting information is conveyed in simplified language and the book may be expected to interest many young Americans in ethnology. It is illustrated by many of the author's own photographs, especially from Angola, and some of these are of much technological interest; this helps to give the necessary personal touch to the book, but it also means that readers will not be given much idea of the æsthetic possibilities of African material culture, which are of course necessary to its

appreciation. No fine pieces of sculpture are shown, the best being a very mediocre Benin bronze head. Admittedly schoolboys of eleven would not understand the more abstract forms of Negro art, but there are many fine carvings in American museums (including Dr. Hambly's own at Chicago) which would have served to demonstrate the high level of craftsmanship attained by the techniques which the author so pleasantly describes. WILLIAM FAGG

**Finding the Missing Link.** By Robert Broom. London (Watts), 1950. Pp. vi, 104, 1 plate, 9 text figures. Price 6s.

**140** Dr. Broom's interests, formerly concentrated mainly on the mammal-like reptiles of South Africa, have in the past twenty years or so turned more and more to problems connected with human evolution, and in particular to the phyletic significance of the South African fossil anthropoids, many of which he discovered himself. *Finding the Missing Link* is his third book on the problem of man's origin. The first, a semi-popular discussion of man's ancestry, and emphasizing the importance of the Taungs skull, appeared in 1933. The second, which he wrote in 1946, in collaboration with G. W. H. Schepers, comprised anatomical descriptions of the remains of the *Australopithecinae* then available. In his new and short book he brings his account of the discoveries up to date, and speculates about their bearings on human evolution.

In two introductory chapters he describes various fossil hominids, including the *Sinanthropus*, *Pithecanthropus*, Pittedown and Neanderthal groups, as well as certain other types such as the skulls from Kanan and Kanjera in East Africa. He supports the view that the East African hominids which appear to be of a morphologically modern type were of early Pleistocene age, and that 'modern' man apparently antedated the Neanderthal type. He emphasizes the contributions made by individual workers in discovering and describing anthropoid fossils, and in one section derides the cautious attitude of museum and other authorities in delaying the publication of descriptions of human remains entrusted to them. 'When one feels sure of one's ground,' he writes, 'it is better to be a little daring.'

Broom is quite sure of his ground in the case of the *Australopithecinae*, and in the remaining chapters of his book he describes how they were discovered, and speculates, without restraint, about their affinities. His own views are clearly stated. The *Australopithecinae* are the only human ancestors known for certain, and are morphologically intermediate between man and the extant great apes. They are 'something better than the apes, and if not quite men, nearly men, and almost certainly men in the making.' In Broom's opinion, 'they have no near relations with any of the living anthropoid apes and are physically closely related to man.'

Until this book appeared, three genera, *Australopithecus*, *Plesianthropus* and *Paranthropus*, of the sub-family *Australopithecinae*, had been named, the first and last each having two species. Broom, however, now raises the whole group to familial status, and suggests that *Paranthropus* should be ascribed to a new sub-family. He reiterates his view that 'the tooth structure seems to form the most reliable guide,' and that 'a very small point in the fossil jaw can determine the affinities of the animal.' He also defends himself against criticisms of the liberality of his taxonomic treatment by declaring that 'we do not usually publish all our evidence.' Unfortunately, he has not used biometric methods in his studies, and it is debatable how far his claims about their morphological characters and about their differences from existing apes will be sustained. The few biometric studies by other workers which have already appeared are opposed to some of Broom's views, and suggest the need for great caution.

In his final chapter Broom discusses the morphogenetic processes responsible for man's evolution, and advances the theory that human evolution has followed a planned course under the guidance of an *élan vital*. He rejects the theory accepted by many present-day students of evolution that change has resulted from the action of natural selection on variable genetic characters, because, in his opinion, 'natural selection certainly eliminates the unfit and establishes the fit, but . . . it has nothing whatever to do with the creation of the fit.' To Broom the insuperable difficulty seems to be that we cannot explain the origin of the 'fit.' Whether this is so or



not, it should be noted that he neither advances any positive evidence to support his view, nor pays attention to the researches of geneticists who, in the past twenty years or so, have dispelled many of the difficulties which clouded our understanding of the processes underlying evolutionary change.

Broom's discoveries undoubtedly shed valuable light on the evolution of the higher Primates—but much requires to be done before we know exactly what the light reveals.

S. ZUCKERMAN

**Some String Figures from North-East Angola.** By M. D. and L. S. B. Leakey. *Museu do Dundo, Lisbon, 1949. Pp. 24.*

**141** This paper adds not a little to our knowledge of African string figures and supplements the dozen figures published by Miss E. E. E. in 1933 from the same region. There are several interesting points to be noted; as the authors say, the serial type of figure is relatively rare in Africa, though some have been

recorded in the Gold Coast by G. L. T. Griffith. As one would expect, there are several parallels in the figures themselves: the universal 'Crow's feet' has made its appearance as 'the hoos,' made in a simple way which I have hitherto only known from the Eskimo. The finished figure of 'the headrest' is the same as the Sudan 'Scissors' described by J. Hornell, with a very slight difference in the method of making, whilst 'the fowl's anus,' also described by Hornell from Sierra Leone and Nigeria, is almost the same as a figure of that name from Peru. These are relatively simple figures that would easily be made by any expert, but more difficult to explain is 'the bed,' which is identical with 'the Apache door' from the Navahos and is a fairly complicated figure needing more technique. The Leakeys' descriptions are not always clear—it is difficult, for instance, to see how a simple wrist loop can have a proximal string (p. 12)—but they are to be congratulated on snatching precious (though wet) hours from their excavations in order to record these interesting figures.

K. RISHBETH

## ASIA

**Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Vol. IX, Die Asiatischen Hirtenvölker: Die Primären Hirtenvölker der Alt-Türken, der Altai- und der Abakan-Tartaren.** By P. W. Schmidt. *Freiburg (Paulusdruckerei), 1949. Pp. xxxi, 899.*

**142** In this vast tome, the ninth volume of his great work, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Pater Wilhelm Schmidt has carried a stage further the indefatigable investigations of the theme with which his name will always be associated, by an examination of the belief in Supreme Beings among the Central Asiatic pastoral peoples. To this region he attaches considerable importance because he finds here the diffusion of his hypothetical Ur-culture on its way to America across the Behring Strait land bridge from north-east Asia. Therefore, his purpose has been to subject the Siberian cultus to an analysis along the lines of his own ethnological method in order to reveal the theistic beliefs and institutional practices of the Turkish peoples as preserved among the Tartars.

The emphasis is placed on the importance assigned to Tengere Kaira Kan, the highest heavenly Being, and the sky cult, before the introduction of the worship of Bai Ulgāns and his earth cult with its innumerable lesser divinities and shamanistic degradations. The earth religion of the North Altai people is represented as belonging to a fusion of a matrilineal agricultural culture with a patriarchal higher hunter culture, with which perhaps was woven totemism. Thus, the oldest form was the worship of the highest Being by the herdsmen, especially the horse-breeders of the South Altai region, while in the southern and eastern areas there were contacts with totemic hunter folk from which came the cult of Ulgān and that of Erlik, the god of the underworld, elaborated by the shamans.

Fr. Schmidt is forced to admit that the documentary evidence available is by no means conclusive and often is contradictory and inadequate. Nevertheless, he is convinced that whether or not a genuine monotheism prevailed, at least it has been the High God, Tengere Kaira Kan, who has inspired the hopes of man, and to him prayers, ceremonies and sacrifices have been offered. He has always been the effective good and the omnipotent Creator, even when his proper role has not been completely fulfilled and the lofty original religion has been obscured by the unethical magic and nature worship fostered by the shamanistic tyranny. Thus, for example, under this influence the dignified sacrifice of the horse is said to have been overshadowed by the debased rite in which a lamb was torn to pieces, like the bull in the Thracian *omophagia*.

As a collection of material the contents of the volume are of permanent value, and the translations of the hymns and prayers have been rendered with great beauty of style and diction. The constant repetition of accounts of the ceremonies and their interpretations, and the perpetual reiteration of the arguments, however, make what is admittedly an exhaustive treatment of the subject tedious reading. The bulk of the book could have been very considerably reduced with great advantage, and this would have made for a greater clarity in the marshalling of the facts and the deductions drawn from them. Nevertheless, despite these defects, and

independent of the underlying hypothesis which has been long subject to critical evaluation, it cannot be denied that the enquiry is a remarkable achievement of laborious research in a comparatively unexplored field.

E. O. JAMES

**Ergebnisse der Frobenius Expedition 1937-38 in die Molukken und nach Holländisch Neu-Guinea. Vol. I: Hainuwele.** By Ad. E. Jensen and H. Niggemeyer. *Frankfurt am Main, 1939. Pp. xiv, 455, 8 plates, 36 text figs. and map.*  
**Vol. II: Die Drei Ströme.** By Ad. E. Jensen. *Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1948. Pp. xli, 320, 28 plates, 33 text figs. and map. Price DM.30.*  
**Vol. III: Alahatala.** By J. Röder. *Bamberg (Meisenbach), 1948. Pp. viii, 136, 4 plates and map. Price DM.6.* All published by the Frobenius Institut, Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main.

The Frobenius Expedition 1937-38 consisted of Dr. Ad. E. Jensen, Dr. H. Niggemeyer and Dr. J. Röder as ethnographers and A. Hahn as artist. The party was working in Ceram and the immediate vicinity from the beginning of April, 1937, to the end of January, 1938. No member of the group seems to have remained in any one place for any great length of time and the reliability and insight of the ethnographic reporting must be assessed accordingly. Furthermore, since the publication of the first volume a substantial part of the original notebook material has been destroyed, so that the later volumes do not conform to the scheme of publication originally envisaged. Volume I is a collection of 433 folktales, myths and legends from various localities in the island of Ceram. The Introduction by Dr. Jensen, with its stress upon the predominance of sun and moon myths, may tempt both Jungian psychologists and culture-historians to exercise their fancy, but Dr. Jensen himself is cautious in his speculations. Volume II, printed in the Soviet zone of Germany, is a lavish production in the same format as Volume I. It provides a fairly comprehensive and well presented ethnographic account of the Wemale, a tribal group numbering some thousands living near the western end of Ceram. Their physical appearance would seem to be markedly 'Melanesian.' The culture is a blend of New Guinea and Indonesian characteristics. Volume III, printed on coarse poor-quality paper, reflects sadly on the parsimonious attitude of the authorities in the British zone. The book purports to make a comparative analysis of the traditional religious beliefs of different sub-groups in the Alfuren (Alfuro) group of tribes in central Ceram. The original culture of these people seems to have been fairly typically Indonesian in the Battak-Dayak-Toradja-Igorot style, but at the time of this research was severely broken down. Most of the present population are Christians. A useful bibliography is provided, but this does not include the original major source for the Alfuro, namely T. J. Willer, *Het Eiland Boeroe* (1858), which specifically concerns the Wahaerama, one of the groups here under discussion.

Few English anthropologists are likely to share the theoretical premises that provide the background for these volumes, which stem from the inspiration of Leo Frobenius himself. But, theory



apart, we undoubtedly have here a substantial body of valuable ethnographic fact. The several authors deserve congratulations for the manner in which they have overcome the difficulties of publication. All three volumes are now obtainable from the Frobenius Institute in Frankfurt. A further volume by Dr. Röder on the coastal peoples of central Ceram is promised and there is a possibility that Dr. Niggemeyer may publish a work on the Alune, neighbours of the Wemale in west Ceram. Certain additional matter on the religion of the Wemale has already appeared in Volume III of the Frobenius Institute publication *Paldeuma*.

E. R. LEACH

**Menschen ohne Geschichte: Eine Forschungsreise zu den 'Wild'-Völkern der Philippinen und Malayas, 1938-1939.** By Paul Schebesta. Mödling (Verlag der Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel), 1947. Pp. 231, with 57 photographs, 12 line drawings and a map.

The author's life work is the study of the pygmy peoples of Africa and South-East Asia, and in this specialized field he has made many weighty contributions to anthropology. But besides his more technical works he has written a number of travel books which can be enjoyed by anyone interested in primitive man. While Schebesta's earlier books on the Semang and the Senoi of Malaya had the special attraction of enabling the reader to follow the progress of intensive and unhurried anthropological fieldwork, the present volume is a popular account of an extensive journey in the Philippine Islands, intended, as it would seem, as a general survey of the Negritos and certain other primitive racial groups. A great deal of ethnographic material is packed into the ten chapters of this unpretentious book, and it is to be hoped that sooner or later Schebesta will be able to publish his observations in a more systematic form.

Schebesta visited the Negritos of Zambales and Camarines on Luzon as well as those on the island of Negros. Among the former he found two physical types: the true Negrito type with a stature of below 150 centimetres and proportions similar to those of the Semang of Malaya, chocolate-brown pigmentation and spiral hair, and another type which is characterized by a lighter skin, greater height, wavy hair, prominent cheek bones and a pointed chin. He believes that this second type is not due to intermixture with the Negritos' present 'Malayan' neighbours, but is the result of miscegenation between Negritos and a wavy-haired (presumably Veddoïd) race, remnants of which persist among the Mangyans and Bukidnons.

A long-standing symbiosis with other populations seems to account for many features of present-day Negrito culture, and during the last decades the process of acculturation has been so accelerated that hardly any of the Negritos live any more in the style of food-gatherers and hunters. Though some groups still rely to some extent on the gathering of wild jungle produce and the chase, agriculture is playing an increasingly important part in their economic life. Close contact with Philippine peasants has resulted in the acquisition of many new techniques and in the adoption of customs originally foreign to the forest-dwelling Negritos.

Distinct from the Negritos is another group of primitive tribes, which according to Schebesta includes the Bukidnons of Luzon and the Mangyans of Mindoro. They practise shifting cultivation of the simplest type and have no domestic animals other than dog and fowl; their general material culture is very much poorer than that of such comparatively advanced hill tribes as Igorots and Ifugaos. Though more widely distributed than the Negritos these primitive shifting cultivators are even less adequately known. Schebesta compares them to the Senoi of Malaya and the Kubu of Sumatra, and indeed it seems probable that throughout the Malayan Archipelago there is a fundamental racial and cultural similarity among many of the tribes standing on the borderline between food-gathering and agriculture. A Veddoïd strain seems to be strongest among the most isolated groups, but it is everywhere intermixed with the Paleomongolid elements which predominate in the tribes of more advanced culture.

This book concludes with a chapter of some thirty pages on a tour in Malaya. There the author was able to fill some of the gaps in his Semang material gathered during previous fieldwork in

1924-25, but the plan of visiting the Andaman Islands had to be abandoned on account of the outbreak of the Second World War.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

**Die Bhil in Zentralindien.** By Wilhelm Koppers. Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Vol. VII. Horn-Wien (Berger), 1948. Pp. xx, 353, 16 plates, 88 text figs. and 5 maps

**145** The anthropological world has long been waiting for a comprehensive account of the Bhils, one of the largest groups of tribes in Peninsular India. Information on the many branches of the Bhil group is scattered over numerous periodicals and official reports, but owing to very considerable local variations in custom and the differences in the approach and the interests of the various observers, it has hitherto been almost impossible to gain a clear picture of even the basic ethnographic facts. It was therefore fortunate that during his stay in India in 1938 and 1939 Professor W. Koppers was able to visit several of the regions inhabited by Bhils, check the existing information and gather valuable data on those aspects of Bhil culture which were hitherto little known. Some of the results of his fieldwork have been published in more than a dozen substantial articles and papers as well as in a semi-popular travel book (*cf.* MAN, 1948, 109) and the present volume contains mainly material which has not found a place in these earlier publications. It is not an anthropological monograph in the traditional sense, but it combines a critical and virtually exhaustive compilation of earlier sources with most detailed descriptions of certain selected facets of Bhil culture. It is obviously intended to be read in conjunction with the author's articles on Bhils in *Anthropos* and other journals, for the material and many of the arguments contained in these articles are not reproduced even in abstracts.

The author begins by discussing the probable 'original' home of the Bhils and comes to the conclusion that the Aravalli Hills and the Western Vindhya are the most likely centres of dispersal. He then proceeds to scrutinize the problem of the Bhil language. Though the Bhili of today is undoubtedly a dialect of Gujarati, scholars are agreed that the Bhils are not an Aryan people and must have spoken another language before they adopted the language of the Gujars. But no one has been able to discover traces of an older language, and Koppers dismisses as unsound suggestions of parallels with either Munda or Dravidian languages. He emphasizes, however, that the Northern Bhils have been exposed to strong influences from more advanced populations, while the Bhils in the Satpura region south of the Narbada have been mainly influenced by other primitive tribes.

On account of these and other differences between the various groups of Bhils it is difficult to ascertain the type of economy which prevailed among the tribes now known as Bhils before they came in contact with people from whom they learnt the techniques of cultivation with plough and oxen. Food-gathering and hunting still play an important part in Bhil economics, but the author did not find any evidence that the Bhils of past ages ever subsisted solely by the chase and the collection of wild jungle produce. He thinks rather that they practised a type of slash-and-burn cultivation which is still characteristic of the Bhils of Panch Mahal, Partabgarh and Banswara. This assumption seems to be sound, and it is probable that the Bhils belonged to the same stratum of primitive cultivators as the Baigas and Kolams. Indeed, Professor Koppers mentions certain parallels in the beliefs of Bhils and Baigas regarding the divine sanction of agriculture which are extremely suggestive.

But whereas the economic system as well as the mythology of such tribes as the Baigas can still be studied as a functioning and integrated whole, Bhil culture appears to have been exposed to so many disruptive forces that it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the old and the new. At least in the economic sphere the assimilation to the regional pattern of Hindu culture is almost complete. There are undoubtedly many very archaic elements in Bhil culture, but to consider any particular custom or belief as ancient or primitive solely because it prevails among the Bhils would be methodologically inadmissible unless we can support our argument with comprehensive evidence from other areas and populations.



The very detailed information on material culture and even more the excellent description of the annual ceremonies and rites will become more and more valuable for Indian anthropology as investigations among other aboriginal tribes of Middle India yield comparative data. Certain parallels between Bhil and Gond rites are very intriguing. The rite of the Wedding of the Gods on Akharis day (p. 164), for instance, resembles in many ways the Wedding of Chenchi Bhimana celebrated by the Raj Gonds (cf. my *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad*, Book I, pp. 318ff.). These and other similarities in the ritual of two tribes which otherwise seem to have little in common raise several important questions. Were such customs the common heritage of a broad stratum of aboriginal populations in Middle India? Did the Bhils adopt them from tribal neighbours? Or do both Gonds and Bhils owe these customs to the impact of similar Hindu populations? The author is fully conscious of these problems, but although here and there he intersperses his descriptive account with comparative notes, he exercises considerable restraint in the interpretation of his data. And in this he acts wisely, for until we have more ethnographic material from other tribes of Central India, comparative studies must necessarily be restricted in scope.

The main value of the present book lies in the wealth of detail with which the author describes such subjects as the Bhils' material equipment, their seasonal activities and ritual, the treatment of disease and the practice of magic. A large number of Bhil songs, reproduced in the original and in translation, as well as 20 line drawings and 68 half-tone illustrations, chosen for their instructive rather than their artistic merit, greatly add to the value of the volume as a first-rate ethnographic document.

C. VON FÜRER-HAEMENDORF

**Malaya, comprising the Federation of Malaya and the Colony of Singapore: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population.** By M. V. Del Tufo. London (Crown Agents for the Colonies), 1949. Pp. iii, 597, with map, diagrams and plans. Price 35s. or \$15 (Malayan)

Anthropologists have long been aware of the theoretical importance of demographic factors for their analysis of social relationships. That they have given so little practical effect to this view is largely due to the difficulties of getting reliable data about the populations they are interested in, on a scale big enough to be significant. It is to the specialist demographer that they tend to look more and more to supply this deficiency. Hence this report on the recent census of Malaya is a document of some importance to anthropology.

The mass of tabular material on the numbers, composition and distribution of the Malayan population in terms of the normal census categories is extremely impressive, and its presentation is effectively aided by several diagrams, including a dot-distribution map in colour. The fourteen chapters of the first part of the report give a valuable summary of the main facts and an analysis of trends by very useful comparison with data from the censuses of 1921 and 1931. One of the most significant features here is the very marked increase in the proportion of locally born Chinese, which has risen from 22 per cent. of the total Chinese population in 1921 to over 62 per cent. in 1947. During this period the total number of Chinese in Malaya has increased so materially as to form now the largest single ethnic element in the population, and more than 44 per cent. of the whole. The implication is that they must now be regarded as a settled element in the Malayan population.

No enquiry as to religion was made in the census, since it was thought that the returns for the major religious groups would not differ much from those for the main ethnic groups, except in the case of Indians, whose numbers did not seem to justify the expense of an enquiry.

The census is of particular interest to anthropologists for two reasons. The first is that a serious attempt has now been made to avoid the use of the misleading term 'race,' against which anthropologists have so often protested. In the 1931 report it was admitted that it was impossible to define the sense in which 'race' was used for census purposes. 'It is, in reality, a judicious blend, for practical ends, of the ideas of geographic and ethnographic origin, political allegiance, and racial and social affinities and sympathies.' In the

1931 report the population was classified under six main racial heads: Europeans (including Americans and all white races), Eurasians, Malaysians, Chinese, Indians and 'others,' and these were then subdivided into more than seventy races. In the 1947 report the major divisions have been preserved—save that Malays and 'Other Malaysians' (i.e. Indonesians) have been separated. But the term 'race,' where used, has been put in inverted commas, and wherever possible the term 'community' has been used instead. The intention is that the census should refer primarily to 'groups all members of which are bound together by a community of interest, that is to say by common ties of language, religion, custom or allegiance.' One practical result has been a greater stress on the reckoning of effective social relations. For instance, a Chinese girl adopted by a Tamil in infancy and conforming to Tamil ways would be classed as belonging to that community, and would not be classed as Chinese unless she insisted on this. For the subdivision formerly called 'race' the term 'specific community' has been substituted. Such assorted terms as New Zealander, Swiss, Ceylon, Tamil, Annamese, Achinese, Arab, Burmese, Jew, now fit fairly comfortably under it. It is a pity, however, that the old-fashioned term 'tribe,' which applies to the different cultural, primarily linguistic, divisions of the Chinese in Malaya, was not also abandoned in favour of 'specific community.'

Of most interest, perhaps, to anthropologists are the chapter and tables dealing with the 'aborigines.' At this census 34,737 persons of aboriginal stock were enumerated, nearly 3,000 more than in 1931. But the difference may well be due to a more complete census, not to any real increase in the population. A strenuous effort was made to get as close a count as possible, and by enlisting the help of the Protector of Aborigines, Capt. Edney Hayter, and of Mr. H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, an extraordinarily good result appears to have been achieved. The difficulties in such work were severe, since before the actual enumeration could begin, the location and even existence of many of the nomadic groups had to be determined. So, while it is estimated that even then about 3,000 aborigines were probably not counted in the more remote areas of Perak, the data probably give a fairly clear picture of their numbers and distribution elsewhere in the country. An attempt has been made to set out broadly the sex and age composition of the aborigines, and a very useful table, well footnoted, gives a classification of nomadic aborigines by ethnic group. Recognition is given to three major categories: Negrito; Jakun, who are primarily Mongoloid; and Temiar and affiliates who are primarily Caucasoid. The degree of ethnic intermixture among the Malayan aborigines would seem to have been considerable, so that too much should not be made of this classification, but it does appear to have significance for the separation of contemporary modal types, as Skeat and Blagden have indicated.

In its general treatment, this report has endeavoured to give the census data a sociological as well as a purely demographic relevance, and the Superintendent of Census and his helpers deserve the thanks of anthropologists.

RAYMOND FIRTH

**Les Mu'ong: Géographie humaine et Sociologie.** By Jeanne Cuisinier. Trav. et Mém. de l'Inst. d'Ethnologie, Vol. XLV. Paris, 1948. Pp. xx, 618, iv, with 7 maps, 86 text figs., 32 plates and bibliog.

Under the title Mu'ong are here classed a number of geographically dispersed groups culturally intermediate between the Annamite and the Thai living mainly on the western fringe of the Tongking delta area of Indo-China. In some of the existing literature the same groups are classed as Moï. The book is in two sections: Part 1, entitled *Géographie humaine*, deals with environment, physical attributes, subsistence techniques and material culture; Part 2, *Sociologie*, covers family and village organization, political structure and religion. The description of techniques and material culture in Part 1 is of high ethnographic quality. Most of what might be summarized as 'technical behaviour' seems to be of fairly normal Thai (Shan) type, though there are also some striking Malaysian parallels (e.g. the curious sickle illustrated on p. 141). Part 2 is of more specialized local interest. The traditional social structure appears to have largely broken down under the stress of



European administration, and the Mu'o'ng are in any case rapidly becoming assimilated into the general body of Annamite culture. The basic principles of any specifically Mu'o'ng local organization are thus hard to discern. The description of religious rituals of various kinds is very detailed and runs to 200 pages of text. The

interest here will be mainly for local specialists. The extensive bibliography is also highly specialized in its scope; references even to materials from the neighbouring province of Haut Tongkin being usually lacking. The text figures are mostly excellent, the plates on the whole rather poor. E. R. LEACH

## EUROPE

### Die urgeschichtliche Grundlagen der europäischen Kultur.

By R. Pittioni. Vienna (Franz Deuticke), 1949. Pp. 368. Price £1 5s. 4d.

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Oswald Menghin's successor has produced a book less pretentious but more reliable than *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*. Geographically its scope is restricted to Europe (mainly temperate Europe), but chronologically it includes, besides two chapters on the Old and New Stone Ages (comprising between them only one-third of the text), chapters on the Bronze Age and the Early and Late Iron Ages. The author has abandoned the *Kulturkreislehre*, but each chapter contains a section on 'the material and spiritual culture' of the 'age.' The account of Bronze Age mining is useful, but ploughs and wheeled vehicles are barely mentioned, while one would like documentation for the interesting statement, 'People are now much inclined to think that as early as the close of the last ice age the conditions for the growth of [sc. suitable] wild grasses were already satisfied in Europe so that the transition to the cultivation of these grasses might follow relatively early.'

The remaining four-fifths of the book are devoted to the classification, archaeological definition and chronology of the various cultures from Abbevillian to La Tène and their origins and interrelations, in the course of which Pittioni expressly corrects some of Menghin's less happy guesses. He also rejects any simple identification of the *Indo-Germanen* with the *nordische Kultur*. 'If,' he writes, 'it be proper to speak of an Indogermanic world of Europe, that would not be till the end of the New Stone Age when the (Northern) Megalithic and Single-Grave cultures, now brought into intimate contact, began, together with the Danubian culture, the reshaping of our Continent.' Indeed, the possibility is mentioned that the Single-Grave aspect of the 'Nordic culture' was due to immigrants from Central Asia. But we are left with the impression that the first farmers in the northern province were sprung directly from the Ertebølle hunter-fishers. Presumably the works of Bagge, Iversen, Kjellmark, Mathiasen and Troels-Smith, effectively disposing of such a suggestion, had not reached Vienna by 1948, though Florin's conclusions, which have been generally rejected by his own countrymen, are quoted with approval.

The book contains no footnotes, only a '*Literatur-Hinweise*' consisting of a bare 24 titles of which nine are English (two being incorrectly quoted). But to be of any use to students a conspectus of European cultures, even if well illustrated—there are in fact 141 text figures, but no scales are given and not all the underlines are correct—should contain a full bibliography so as to be a guide to the original sources.

V. G. CHILDE

### The Neolithic Period in Bulgaria. By James Harvey Gaul.

American School of Prehistoric Research, Bulletin 16. Peabody Museum, Harvard University (Distributor in U.K.: B. H. Blackwell, Oxford), 1948. Pp. xlv, 252, 69 plates, 7 maps, bibliog.

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This monograph, introduced by H. W. Hencken under the title 'A New Beginning,' is a worthy renewal of the activities of the school that published it, but the last we shall receive from the author, who was murdered by S.S. troops in Austria in 1945. Lieutenant Gaul's death is a tragic loss, but his researches were in an advanced stage and he was able to write the Foreword to his monograph in 1941.

The first two chapters contain a useful account of the geography and ancient routes of the east Balkan peninsula, constituting Part I. The second part discusses the 'West Bulgarian Painted Culture,' an eastward extension into the Sofia basin and beyond of that interesting neolithic complex known as the Starčevo-Körös culture, which of all the painted-pottery cultures, to my mind at least, shows the

clearest connexions with those of Macedonia and Thessaly. Kremikovce and other sites in the Sofia basin have provided a quantity of crusted and barbotine ware, and one or two incised sherds already displaying that Middle Danubian partiality for diagonal meanders which persisted from Neolithic to Roman times. Sites of this 'West Bulgarian Painted Culture' extended into the Struma Valley, where they mingled with burnished wares, including some black burnished wares which Gaul declares to be identical with Heurtley's sherds from Vardino, 'which are reputedly chiefly Late Neolithic there, though they are Early Neolithic in Thessaly.' To avoid misconception it should be noted that Gaul here uses 'Early and Late Neolithic' in the sense employed by Wace and Thompson, not that of Weinberg. Another sherd from Kara Bujuk Gaul compares to an Early Macedonian base from Kritsana in Chalcidice. The Struma painted pottery includes white crusted on red, black on red, red on red and scraped ware with obvious analogies in Thessaly and in the Haliakmon Valley.

North Bulgaria has produced some important cave sites of this culture, such as Devetaškata Peštera and Golemata Peštera with proofs of the domestication of pigs, sheep and cattle, and with a little four-footed bowl resembling Körös types. The Marica Valley has few 'Painted Pottery' traces and these few hard to explain. Thus Karanovo has crusted ware and bowls with hollow pedestals with analogies ranging from Körös to Troy stratified above Bulgarian Mound Culture finds which ought to be later.

On page 22 the author gives a table of the relative frequency of wares and objects typical of the 'West Bulgarian Painted Culture.' Gaul then examines Heurtley's list of Danubian traits appearing suddenly in Macedonia in the Late Neolithic period, notes that three of them appear in Early Neolithic (Weinberg's Middle Neolithic) and concludes that Starčevo-Körös, at least in its earlier phase, represented by barbotine rather than painted wares, seems to have been parallel to Thessalian I.

Part III is occupied with the Later Neolithic sites in west Bulgaria and includes a brief but invaluable survey of material in local museums.

Part IV discusses the Boian A culture which spread over the loess lands of the Danube and Marica Valleys while the Starčevo-Körös Culture was permeating the Western Highlands. True Boian A is Rumanian, but Boian A transitional types occur at Denev Mogila (plain biconoid jars) and at Deve Bargan, Kukwa Mogila and Athanasovo in the Marica Valley. Comparisons between Lower Danubian peg-footed bowls, and the fruit stands of the Middle Danube and Thessaly, and the occurrence at Vidra II of a socketed ladle and part of a binocular vase suggest to Gaul the equation Boian A and Transitional Vinča middle levels—Izvoare—Alişar Chalcolithic, and a date about 3000 B.C. for Boian A.

Part V deals with the Mound Culture at the southern shores of the Danube and the Marica Valley, where the people were beginning to exploit the local copper deposits. The type site Gumelnița was divided by Nestor into strata A, B and C, distinguished, though not very clearly, by dark graphite-painted, light graphite-painted and strongly cancellated wares respectively. The plain brown wares of Cernavoda, once thought to be earlier, are now reckoned only a coarse ware of Period A. Copper objects are few but significant, including axe-adzes and a double-spiral-headed pin, and daggers and celts of Trojan types. Graphite sherds at Vardaroftsa and Olynthus and askoid vases at Mečkur indicate an overlapping of the Early Macedonian with the Bulgarian Mound Culture.

Part VI summarizes the scanty material from the north Bulgarian caves. The most interesting object is the animal-headed pin from Morovica. For earlier analogies than those quoted by Gaul, see *Ancient India*, Vol. IV, p. 46, and *Antiquity*, No. 92, p. 220.



Part VII deals with the Vadastra Culture. Vadastra B, the early form, had incised pottery compared by Nestor to Boian A ware, but by Gaul to the B2 pottery from Phthiotic Thebes. The later form, Vadastra A, had corded ware and overlapped handles probably to be reckoned contemporary with Glina III, and possibly with the E.H. III corded sherds from Eutresis. With these may perhaps be correlated the few stone battleaxes, mostly strays, found in Bulgaria. These objects might be used to support Fuchs's argument for a corded-ware invasion of Greece by the first Indo-Europeans to enter that country but, as Gaul points out, they would support an origin from south Russia, not a Nordic one.

Part VIII summarizes the skeletal evidence. Gaul believes that his neolithic people and the chalcolithic people of Alisar were Coon's Danubians, replaced at Alisar by brachycephals in the Early Bronze Age and Hittite periods. Brachycephals appear about the same time in Bulgaria, whatever their source; Myres brought them from Europe to Anatolia, Coon from Anatolia to Europe. Sveti Kyrillovo vase forms are hard to parallel exactly in Anatolia, as Gaul says, but they are nearer to Early Macedonian and I should regard them as 'derived' Anatolian forms.

Part IX is an epilogue discussing the transition to the Bronze Age. The evidence is often curiously negative with no ingot torques or racquet-headed pins; the 'Great Diagonal Road' seems to have had little traffic on it, though there are local contacts with Troy, Macedonia and the Middle Danube. There is no evidence of a large-scale emigration either to or from Anatolia. If the Mound Culture was destroyed by nomads from Russia, the invasion must have been short-lived.

In general, this is an excellent monograph and likely to remain our handbook on its subject for some time.

R. W. HUTCHINSON

**Prehistoire de la Méditerranée.** By M. R. Sauter. Payot (Paris), 1948. Pp. 184, with 46 drawings. Price 420 frs.

**150** Marc Sauter is Privat-Docent in the University of Geneva. In this book he discusses the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic in the Mediterranean basin, ranging from Egypt, Syria and Turkey to the Balkans, Spain, North Africa and Mediterranean France. It is well illustrated with 46 drawings by the author; there is a short selected bibliography, but no index. This is the only publication available to the serious student of the Mediterranean in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic. Its treatment is comprehensive and authoritative, and it can most confidently be recommended. Prehistory is, from the English point of view, a misnomer for a book which stops at the Neolithic; the scope and thoroughness of this book emphasize the need for a second prehistory of the Mediterranean dealing with the archaeology of post-Mesolithic and pre-Greek times. Perhaps M. Sauter, who has already done much work on the Neolithic and later periods, will be encouraged by the reception of this book to essay such a further work.

G. E. DANIEL

**The Skolt Lapp Community Suenjelsjïd during the Year**

**151** 1938. By Karl Nickul. *Acta Lapponica*, Vol. V. Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, 1948. Pp. 90, 64 plates, 1 coloured map. Price Sw. kr. 35

A description by Karl Nickul, the Finnish geodesist, of the Skolt Lapp community Suenjelsjïd and its winter village, as they remained up to the Second World War, has appeared as the fifth volume of *Acta Lapponica*, the series edited by Ernst Manker, the Curator of the Lapp Section of Stockholm's Northern Museum.

In the course of annual visits to Suenjel during the nineteenth-thirties the author had acquired a thorough knowledge of the unique conditions which prevailed there, of the Skolts' mode of life and 'cultural landscape,' their reindeer pastureland and fishing waters, and their camps. He was particularly fascinated by the problems of culture contact to be studied where a very conservative Lapp culture met face to face with modern times, as represented by economic changes in northern Finland during that period. It was therefore a culture in a state of crisis which the author learned to know, and he planned his investigations accordingly: an inventory of cultural possessions, repeated once or more at an interval of a

certain number of years, should show which of the older cultural forms were so deep-rooted that they could survive the metamorphoses caused by new developments. However, Nickul in no sense regards the invasion of the contemporary world as a blind Fate, entirely outside man's control. How many politicians of the cultural field have laid down their arms in similar circumstances? Yet manifestations of culture contact have always a clear message for those in power. In this case the question is, according to Nickul: 'What shall be the attitude of a democratic cultured country towards a minority which is on a different level of cultural development?' Through a comprehensive, unprejudiced study of the Suenjel community as it was when confronted by new times, Nickul seeks to give an answer based on knowledge of the actual situation, in detail.

The cultural inventory which Nickul now publishes refers to 1938. Unfortunately the author never had the opportunity to follow up his original plan of making several inventories. The Second World War was a catastrophe for the Suenjel Lapps, and their homes and territory had to be surrendered. Nevertheless this sole inventory gives us a valuable insight into many aspects of a traditional Lapp culture which are of great significance for comparative research.

From a scientific and also from an administrative point of view, the most interesting trait of Suenjel Lapp culture is the social organization, consisting of a community council and the individual families, which each had exploitation rights to defined fishing waters and pasturelands within the group's widespread territory, centring on the winter village. A lively social intercourse, with much tea-drinking, sprang up in this settlement during the first months of the year, before the families scattered again to fish and pasture their deer. The areas exploited were naturally regarded as a kind of property. The difference between the rights of exploitation and of ownership, which in Swedish Lapland came to play such a fateful role as soon as settlers appeared in the Lapp-tax areas (after 1673), does not seem to have had much significance here. Towards this result the legal protection which the Suenjel Lapps received from the State must have contributed. Documents elucidating that question have been in the safe keeping of the community's representatives from the beginning of the seventeenth century. When Finnish settlers extended their fishing expeditions to the fishing waters of the Suenjel Lapps, the latter could support their case by reference to a decree of 1697, signed by Peter the Great (published by J. J. Mikkola). After an investigation of the circumstances the Tsar there rejects the claims submitted by the settlers and confirms the Lapps' right to their area, which is not to be sold or let. The Lapps of Sweden have from ancient times enjoyed similar legal rights, which have been strongly asserted through the centuries. But in Sweden the extensive character of the movement to colonize Lapland caused, especially in the nineteenth century, marked changes in basic conditions for both Mountain and Forest Lapps. Culture contact added its dangers, for instance through trade in spirits and through the proletarianization of the Lapps which threatened when Swedes took over too many reindeer (owned by Swedes, herded by Lapps).

The cultural and social antagonism between the Lapps and settled inhabitants of the North does not seem to have been so conspicuous in Finland, especially if one compares it with the antagonisms in northern Norway. In this respect Swedish conditions were intermediate between those in Norway and in Finland.

Another striking feature of the situation is the fact that Finnish Lapps, as Nickul's investigation shows, have found it remarkably easy to acquire cultural elements from the settled. In building methods and clothing, assimilation went far. The orientation towards the East is noticeable in both spiritual and material spheres. These Lapps, who belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church of Petsamo, celebrated their religious festivals according to the Gregorian calendar. The samovar and the tea-drinking habit were a part of Lapp daily life, and so forth. However their economy, based as it was on fishing and reindeer-breeding, represented on the whole genuine Lappish cultural traits.

ÅKE CAMPBELL\*

\* Review translated by Dr. E. J. Lindgren



**Grundzüge des estnischen Volksglaubens, Vol. I.** By Oskar Loorits. *Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akad., Lund, Vol. XVIII, 1.* Copenhagen (Munksgaard), 1949. Pp. xvi, 591, illus., bibliog. Price Sw. kr. 30.

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This book is the life work of an Estonian folklorist who, in 1927, founded the Estonian Folklore Archive, and during fifteen years collected more than 252,000 pages of new material, assisted by several hundred collaborators, until he was removed from his office by the Nazis in 1942. From the Communists he fled to Sweden, where he was asked by the Gustavus Adolphus Academy to prepare a survey of Estonian folk religion. The first thick volume of the survey, which has now been published in German, gives us ample material for the study of the comparative folklore and the science of religions. Loorits has made full use of old chronicles and other archives, of the special literature of the subject and, above all, of the hitherto unpublished notes of all Estonian folklore collections. Besides the source material we find archaeological, linguistic and historical information from subsidiary fields. Loorits seems to be wholly versed not only in Estonian and other Finno-Ugrian folk religions, but in the cultures of neighbouring nations, presenting particularly often German, Slavonic and Baltic (i.e. Latvian and Lithuanian) parallels.

Loorits does not divide the religious conceptions of the Estonians historically into periods, but analyses them according to phenomena and structure, explains them psychologically and functionally, examines the geographical, social, economic and cultural milieu, and deals with pagan as well as Christian folk traditions. He does not start from a scholar's or a theologian's doctrines, but is all the time trying to convey to us what people themselves believe in and how they themselves interpret their religious experiences. Yet in this respect he places the Estonian material against the background of the Finno-Ugrian peoples' cultural history during thousands of years, and elucidates the fundamental problems of the history of religion mostly from the aspect of the Uralic culture area, drawing parallels or showing contrasts with the corresponding process of development in the Altaic, Arctic and Indo-European culture areas. In this way each problem has received a thorough treatment, beginning with the oldest elements and proceeding step by step through their original development and the evidence of the foreign loans, and ending with the newest folk traditions. Loorits is not at all as pessimistic as, e.g., Jan de Vries and many other scholars concerning the value of folk traditions as source material when reconstructing the oldest epochs and elements. But quite often Loorits establishes the existence of syncretism, in which elements from different periods and culture areas have melted into a unity, so that it is impossible either to separate them from each other or to divide them into atoms.

*Vivismus*, *dynamismus* and *animismus* are the basic problems with which Loorits deals in his book. W. Wundt's old classification of different forms of the soul has here reappeared in a modern version in chapters that give us a synthesis of the folk traditions about body, shadow, *atem* and name (or word). Loorits does not speak unequivocally about body soul, organ soul, shadow soul, etc., but accepts the viewpoint of Frazer, van der Leeuw, Grünbech and others with reference to vital substance and different powers (physical and psychological), both in microcosm and macrocosm. In treating the body Loorits deals also with the corpse in Estonian religious traditions, and shows how even the term 'living corpse' is to a certain degree based on fact. He analyses the connexion between the corpse and the burial place more thoroughly, and states that the oldest method of burial by Finno-Ugrian people was the air or platform burial, followed by earth and fire burials. He elucidates with many examples on the one hand the transformation of the dead into bad spirits or Christian devils, and on the other points out how the shadow conception has favoured the creation of various ghosts. And from the shadow conception comes the figure cult which is confined by the Finno-Ugrians mostly to the cult of dead people (or ancestors). Finno-Ugrian motifs about the *atem* soul are explained by Loorits as Indo-European loans (to which the whirlwind also belongs), but in the chapter about 'name' and 'word' there is fascinating material, treated in rather a new way, elucidating both the Finno-Ugrian and the Aryan mentality. For

the conception 'external soul' Loorits has created a new German term, *Sonderseele* (*frisljal* in Scandinavian languages), and he pays much attention to a thorough analysis of this conception. This brings him near to the problems of shamanism, and enables him to show the great degeneration of shamanism in Estonian folk religion. The idea of transformation does not seem to be original to the Finno-Ugrian tribes and occurs in Estonian folk religion only in connexion with the werewolf, whereas the concept of the transmigration of souls is very characteristic of Uralic religion. Here, too, Loorits creates a new German term *Wanderseele* ('wandering soul'), to designate a soul transferred from one body to another. He shows how, in many rudiments of Estonian folk tradition, the soul of the dead is transferred to animals, insects (particularly lice and bedbugs), reptiles, etc., and originally into migratory birds.

The climax of the book is to be found in the long chapter on *Naturgefühl* ('nature feeling'), *Lebensauffassung* ('conception of life'), and *Weltbild* ('the idea of the universe'). Here Loorits gives us material that has been hitherto quite unknown to historians of Uralic culture. It represents an essential addition to the comparative science of religion about the cosmogony and the system of the world, particularly about the idea of the universe, etiology, eschatology, and giants as beings forming Nature. In the next chapter the conception of 'spirit' in Uralic religion is thoroughly dealt with for the first time. He elucidates the process of anthropomorphizing nature beings, and the book concludes with a chapter that gives us ample material about the guardian spirit in Estonian religion, formed mostly on the pattern of Indo-European neighbours.

Loorits' book is above all an ideologically systematized *Handwörterbuch des estnischen Aberglaubens*, as it were, wherein we can find much detail and descriptive documentation of different motifs by using the adequate index of catchwords. But many questions of principle and method are also dealt with. An interpretation worthy of the eminence of the modern science of religion is given to magic and sorcery (p. 9), the death problem (pp. 70f.), revolutions in the belief in the dead (pp. 127ff.), phantom figures (p. 158), idols and processions (pp. 176ff.), conceptions of honour (pp. 210ff.), voice (pp. 223ff.), word tabu and pseudonyms (pp. 240f.), *hermhutismus* as the new form of shamanism (p. 262), revolutions in the belief in sorcery (pp. 264f.), the power of attraction of the Puck conception (p. 298), statics and rhythm as life principles of the Uralic tribes (pp. 348, 461), migratory birds as symbols (pp. 362f.), adornments and offerings (p. 376), the problem of divinity (p. 396), the idea of the universe (pp. 416, 446f.), evolutionism and *promontheismus* (p. 421), particular strata of the etiological tales (pp. 459ff.), the path traversed by the Uralic culture between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea (p. 461), giants and heroes (pp. 483f.), cavemen and tribal organization (p. 485), after-effects of a historical act of terrorism (p. 487), spiritualism (p. 502), anthropomorphism and animism (pp. 540f.), the idea of the guardian spirit (pp. 543f.), the king idea (p. 549), the cult of saints (pp. 570ff.), the conception of God (pp. 589f.), etc.

A specialist may note that Loorits very often adopts a rather independent standpoint, usually without criticism of other scholars; see, for example, the problem of the first and the last sheaf (pp. 32ff.), the interpretation of poetic figures and fictions (pp. 366, 381, 555), the explanation of the so-called 'dream soul' (pp. 515ff.), etc. His opinion on the interpretation of chain songs deserves consideration (pp. 225f., 388), and also that of the characteristics of folk songs (p. 371). A complete change in theory is implied in the map on p. 531, where the method of diffusion of Estonian folk songs is defined quite differently from the hitherto accepted hypotheses of the Finnish scholar K. Krohn. More than hitherto we have to observe the phenomenon that what were once fairy tales are transformed into folk songs (p. 323). But Loorits opens wide perspectives on the many problems of cultural migration and geography (pp. 132f., 152, 298, 461, 466, 558, 570ff.). When penetrating deeply into these problems, the reader will realize how Estonian folk religion has been transformed into a synthesis of oriental and occidental elements and how here, to a peculiar degree, 'an occidental building has been erected on a certainly Nordic and partly oriental foundation' (p. 2). We must moreover give due weight to the author's assertion that Estonian folk tradition had absorbed



mostly German elements and consequently presents complementary material for the investigators of the older and newer strata of German religious traditions.

Among printer's errors is the misprint on p. 274: the work by Dionysius Fabricius was not published in 1792 but in 1592.

ÅKE CAMPBELL

## PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**History of the Primates.** By W. E. Le Gros Clark. *British Museum (Nat. Hist.)*, 1949. Pp. 117. Price 2s. 6d.

**153** This small but well illustrated booklet gives a remarkably succinct account of the orthodox conception of man's position in respect to the rest of the living and extinct Primates. The evidence for evolution and the role of natural selection is admirably considered; but taxonomic problems are not so happily dealt with. The species being the classification unit, genera are formed by grouping species, not 'sub-divided into' species (p. 2). Simpson's classification, admirable as it may be for mammals as a class, has little to recommend it as far as Primates are concerned.

According to the preface (by W. N. Edwards) the book is intended to replace Smith-Woodward's well-known *Guide to the Fossil Remains of Man* (3rd ed., 1922), now out of print; this it scarcely does. The new discoveries of fossil forms demand a revision and, no doubt, a work of the present type fulfils that demand, but there is much in Smith-Woodward's *Guide* that cannot be found here. Perhaps, however, the author is wise in his non-committal attitude ancient Piltown Man, who is but briefly mentioned and whose remains, so notable an item in the museum's collections, are not figured. On the whole insufficient prominence is given to the important material housed in the museum.

The ink drawings of recent Primates by Maurice Wilson are life-like and attractive, albeit betraying the Japanese flavour of most of this artist's work.

The book fills a long-felt demand for a popular authoritative sketch of man's relations to his Primate congeners past and present and is well adapted for enlightenment of the intelligent layman.

W. C. OSMAN HILL

**Adolescent Sterility.** By M. F. Ashley Montagu. *Springfield, Ill. (C. C. Thomas)*; distributed in U.K. by B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1946. Pp. 157, 33 tables. Price 17s. 6d.

**154** Ethnologists have often been puzzled by the rare occurrence of illegitimate children among those societies in which unmarried adolescents enjoy a period of sexual licence. Rivers, for example, could find only one recorded instance of a bastard when he was collecting pedigrees among the Eddystone Islanders, and a similar state of affairs has been observed among the Dobuans, the Trobrianders, the Lepchas and others; while in those societies where a girl marries immediately after first menstruation, it is found that several years elapse before she bears her first child.

Professor Ashley Montagu quickly disposes of the theory that a free mixing of lovers, or an early and indefatigable sexual life, may damage a woman's reproductive powers, and he can find no evidence that the 'contraceptives' occasionally used have the effects which are attributed to them. His analysis of the problem, based on a comparative study of adolescent sterility in man and among the

lower mammals, enables him to distinguish stages in the gradual development of the reproductive processes, which he relates to serial changes in the endocrine system. The first visible signs of these changes are the menarche and the secondary sexual characteristics, which appear at the onset of puberty. Between this time and the time of nubility, when ovulation first takes place and other functions relevant to reproduction are developed, there is an interval when the organism is functionally sterile. The length of this period varies considerably among human beings—illegitimate children, though rare, are not entirely unknown in societies where premarital intercourse is allowed—and while girls may become pregnant before they are fully mature, the high rates of maternal and infant mortality which result show that the ability to conceive is not the same thing as the ability to procreate.

Although this analysis is made in terms of physiology, anthropologists should be grateful for the solution of a problem which, while not affecting them directly, has often caused them a certain amount of embarrassment.

FRANCIS HUXLEY

**The Classification of Animals.** By W. T. Calman. *London (Methuen)*, 1949. Pp. 54, bibliog. Price 4s. 6d.

**155** This small monograph provides an excellent introduction to a complex and controversial subject. Whether a system of classification should solely provide for the accurate identification of an animal or whether it should also give the phylogenetic relationships of the animal is discussed in a clear and stimulating manner. The author advocates a natural or phylogenetic system of classification, but points out that, in many places, such a system must be artificial because of the difficulties of assessing the phylogenetic value of many characters. Hence it is a system which must be constantly revised in the light of increasing knowledge. To do this the systematist must not ignore the advances of anatomy, physiology, ecology, etc., and the author's suggestion that references to systematic literature should be divorced from those concerning other aspects of the animal is to be deplored. A natural system of classification is an integral part of zoology and not a science in its own right. The final chapters give a brief introduction to the methods employed by the systematist, including some valuable remarks upon the illustration of scientific papers.

H. BUTLER

**About Ourselves.** By J. G. Needham, with illustrations by W. D. Sargent. *London (Allen & Unwin)*, 1950. Pp. xi, 276. Price 15s.

**156** This is a well informed and pleasantly written but somewhat ingenuous account of man and society in their biological aspects. The author tends to exaggerate the influence of instinct in man and of reason in animals.

RAGLAN

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Relative Usefulness of Cranial Characters.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 15

**157** Sir,—May I add to my paper published in your February issue that in computations on skeletal materials from different periods the possibility of a phylogenetic variability which might prove to be distinguishable from the interracial variability should be taken into consideration? That differences in the skull index occur in the course of time has lately again been stressed by, e.g., Weidenreich ('The Brachycephalization of Recent Mankind,' *Southwestern J. Anat.*, Vol. I, 1945) and Abbie ('Headform and Human Evolution,' *J. Anat.*, Vol. LXXXI, 1947); the same might apply to other characteristics. Thus we shall have to do with a phylogenetic variability of which it is by no means certain that it

shows the same absolute and relative preference to the characters on which it acts as the interracial variability.

*Royal Institute for the Indies,* A. J. VAN BORK-FELTKAMP  
*Amsterdam*

**Min and his Functions: A Postscript.** Cf. MAN, 1946, 103

**158** Sir,—Since my original article on this subject appeared, Dr. Elise Baumgartel has published another (*Inst. français d'Archéologie Orientale, Annales du Service*, Vol. XLVIII, 1948), concerning the three great statues, called *colossi*, from Koptos, usually taken for images of the god Min. It contains nothing about the suggestion of the seasonal setting-up in ancient Egypt of



figures representing, almost sacramentally, the divine coupling held to be of prime necessity for the country's wellbeing, but strong reasons are given for the conclusion that the statues were not of so early a date as was at one time supposed and that they did not represent the god himself.

A former theory of prehistoric date is, in the light of modern scholarship, obviously inadmissible; my article in MAN (1946, 103) suggested that the statues had taken the place of figures of clay and rubble some time after the substitution in royal buildings of Zozer's time of stone for the more perishable materials of former days. Dr. Baumgartel places the probable date in the First Intermediate Period; a first basis for this conclusion lies in archaeological finds pointed out by Sidney Smith and backed by sculptures from Khafajeh excavated by Frankfort (see Baumgartel's article, p. 535), which are dated to the late Early Sumerian Age (coeval with the Egyptian First Intermediate Period—c. 2300 to 2130 B.C., according to the latest authority). The head of one of the statues is indeed so badly mutilated (Baumgartel, Plate III) that it seems difficult to accept it, except for the side beard, as a valid material piece of evidence, but lateral evidence, derived from other features observable in the bodies, bears much weight, especially the well-known points of resemblance with Mesopotamian figures, which were noted in detail by Dr. Baumgartel and myself.

Little is known of the fall of the Old Kingdom, except that it was the result of a very thorough revolution which was bitterly lamented in the famous *Admonition of Ipuwer* (see Blackman's translation of Erman in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 92-108); the salient features of the revolution as recorded in this lament are astonishingly like those reported of the uprising in Russia in 1917. It is generally concluded that the disturbances coincided with foreign invasion and the country suffered for many generations under the rule, or misrule, of foreigners, with the backing, it may be gathered, of native officials or notables, often self-seeking and ambitious. The country, however, did not constantly remain submissive to this state of things and it came to an end with the rise of the Eleventh Dynasty. The invaders appear to have come from Mesopotamia, entering by the Wadi Hammâmât; they must have been very sensible of the value of the hierogamous figures set up to procure divine protection for the land and they thought to assure their durability by replacing them in stone. The new statues were evidently objects of great consideration, even veneration; they were placed at Koptos, by the head of the wadi which led to the sea road of communication with the invaders' land of origin; the city commanded that road and was probably the capital of the foreign lords. A mark of the great honour in which they were held lies in the stone of which they were hewn, for it was transported from the distant quarries of Tûreh which provided the Memphite kings with the fine limestone for their royal buildings; lastly they were chiselled in the style of their own heroes, and the artists were doubtless of Mesopotamian origin.

Towards the end of the First Intermediate Period the country must have been in a state of great turmoil, during which the statues were cast down and abandoned, as a sign of rebellion against the invaders and their minions, and were later used by the peasants for their small domestic needs, as suggested by Leeds (see MAN, 1946, 103). Dr. Baumgartel seems to infer that the statues belonged to temples, though the position in which they were found hardly supports that view; she concludes also that they did not represent the god Min, in spite of his symbol being pecked out on one of them. The latter conclusion seems to be well founded, for the rustic figures from which the statues seem to have developed would not bear any such specific nomenclature. Yet it was almost inevitable that an intimate connexion with Min should be conceived by the followers of that great god; their divine head, responsible for their prosperity, and the newer version of the male ritual figure would accordingly be marked with his symbol. The connexion of Min with Horus dealt with in my previous article has lately been found at a very early date; a copper representation of the Falcon God perched on a Min symbol was found by Seton Lloyd in his excavations on a First Dynasty site by Helouan, not far to the south from Cairo (*Illustrated London News*, 5 June, 1948). This is a noteworthy discovery, throwing back the beginnings of later syncretism to a much earlier date than has hitherto been found. This syncretism is shown

firmly established in the title *Kamutef* ('Bull of his Mother') noted in my previous article.

The plain title of 'Bull' symbolized 'strength', especially procreative energy (*ibidem*), and as such was applicable to many gods, but was especially so to Min; it has induced Dr. Baumgartel to signalize Min as a 'bull-man'. She further derives the divine idea of the animal from Assyria, where, very naturally, the bull had the same symbolical value as in Egypt. In these smaller details and one or two others she is perhaps hardly persuasive, but the determination of the very probable date of the great statues of Koptos has a real value for a general view of ancient Egyptian history, as, I trust, the observations set down above will show.

Penzance

G. D. HORNBLOWER

### Anthropology and Disease

**159** Sir.—Comparatively little attention has been bestowed by anthropologists upon the etiology of disease, although it is essentially an anthropological matter. Science has such a way of burying its own children! Over forty years ago the late Dr. Aleš Hrdlička called attention to data which proved, almost conclusively, that certain maladies, common today in the Old World, had no existence in the New before the time of Columbus (see Hrdlička, *Bur. Am. Eth.*, *Bull.* 34, 1908, pp. 191ff.). If this be admitted, then it follows that modern medicine will have to be revolutionized.

More recently, in a valuable article contributed to the *J. Amer. Med. Assoc.* (Vol. XCIX, 1932, pp. 1661-1666), Hrdlička supplemented his findings by stating that before Columbus America was the healthiest of continents. There were no areas depopulated by disease, no epidemics of purely American origin. Important scourges were unknown. There was no rachitis, no tuberculosis, no pathologic microcephaly, probably no cancer, no cholera, no typhus and no measles. Thus if these findings be also substantiated we must look elsewhere for the etiology of disease. It is easier to ignore evidence than face it. As Dr. Hrdlička said, 'Facts sometimes have a hard task to prevail over opinions.'

More recently Dr. T. D. Stewart, of the U.S. National Museum, concluded that the osseous remains attributed to one disease alone (syphilis) are extremely uncommon, if not absent in the oldest skeletal remains (*Smithsonian Inst., Misc. Coll.*, Vol. C, 1940). These facts, but not these facts alone, tend to kill the current myth of the association of this disease with the New World. But in science, as elsewhere, myths live while facts die.

London

EDWARD LAWRENCE

### Early Iron in Iraq. Cf. MAN, 1950, 4

**160** Sir.—Mr. Burton Brown's remarks on the early occurrence of iron call for a rectification. The iron knife blade from Tell Asmar was dated by us to 2700 B.C. before Professor Sidney Smith had demonstrated, in *Alalakh and Chronology*, that the reign of Hammurabi fell from 1792 to 1750 B.C. This brings down Sargon of Akkad's accession to about 2340 B.C. The temple service—a closed find—to which the knife belongs, was buried at the very end of the Early Dynastic Period, say between 2450 and 2340 B.C.

It is relevant that this blade of terrestrial iron was mounted in an openwork handle of bronze while the other objects of the hoard, some 75 pieces, were made of copper. The knife may therefore not have been of local manufacture. The analyses made by Professor Cecil H. Desch were published in the Third Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 17 (Chicago, 1934), pp. 58-62.

The Warburg Institute, London

H. FRANKFORT

### Correction: MAN, 1950, 47

**161** Dr. A. S. Breathnach has drawn the attention of the Hon. Editor to an error in the original drawing of one of the line illustrations to his article on 'The Measurement of Palatal Height and Length by Means of the Travelling Microscope' in the April issue of MAN. In the right-hand sketch (b) of fig. 2, the positions of the letters Z and A should be transposed so that Z lies to the right and A to the left. The Hon. Editor regrets that this slip was not noticed in the course of editing.









(a) Old hut (with painted wall decorations) showing wind-swept roof on which bundles of new thatching grass are drying. A roof framework for another house is being built in the foreground, and by it (left) lies a bundle of bark strips for tying.



(b) Plastering the walls. Women puddle and carry the clay; men plaster it on. The wall posts project above the top binding withes to help in the tying on of the roof framework. On the inside wall (not yet plastered), four horizontal binding withes can just be seen.



(c) Last stage of making the roof. The apical ring, the first two transverse ties, and most of the third have been put on; the ends of the roof poles have still to be trimmed. (The roof is being built before the walls are plastered because this is a ceremonial hut which must be built in one day.)



(d) A new village under construction. The hut at the left has been plastered and is drying while awaiting the putting-on of the roof; that at the right has a completed roof framework and awaits thatching.



(e) Thatching the roof with fine grass. The man on the roof is making the decorative roof knob or usonshi.



(f) Roof framework for a rectangular house. The use of veranda supports and the building of the roof in two sections permit the use of shorter roof poles.

## BEMBA HUT-BUILDING

Photographs by Dr. A. I. Richards



# HUTS AND HUT-BUILDING AMONG THE BEMBA: PART II\*

by

DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS

*Director, East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere, Uganda*

## *Methods of Building*

**I62** A man intending to build a house makes a number of expeditions into the bush and brings back suitable uprights in bundles. The posts are usually trimmed on the spot and pointed at one end with the axe so that they are ready to be sunk easily into the ground. Men told me 'We need a hundred posts to make a house.' The answer was so stereotyped that I thought it was a conventional figure; the Bemba are not interested in mensuration, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> When they are dealing with figures above 30 or 40 they might as easily say 60 as 100. In fact, I never saw men actually counting posts, but on the several occasions when I checked the accuracy of their statements I was surprised to find it nearly correct. Since Table I in Part I shows little variation in the size of commoners' houses, I would have expected bundles of posts measured by eye to be roughly similar, but I think the figure of 100 must have been a coincidence.

To build a house a man marks a circle out on the ground by means of a primitive compass consisting of a central peg and a length of bark rope. There seems to be no special effort taken to measure the circumference exactly. Where the circle has been drawn, the house-builder digs a circular trench about six inches deep with the blunt metal end of his spear. The wall posts are then trimmed of notches and made as straight as possible, and the sharpened ends are driven side by side, about an inch apart, into the trench with the blunt end of the axe used as a wooden mallet. They are then bound together with bands of pliable branches tied with bark strips. A branch band is placed outside the wall posts and another inside and the bark strips tied at intervals to keep the two bands in position, to give them greater strength. Three such supporting bands are usually made, one at the top of the wall, one in the middle and one close to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

The women's work now begins, for they are responsible for fetching clay from the nearest pit, or river bank, and puddling it with water until it becomes soft and malleable. This is done as near the hut as possible, to save carrying wet clay. Women then carry the clay on trays made of bark, and the men or women throw it at the uprights so that it lodges in an untidy mass between and on the posts (Plate Hb). The outside of the walls is filled in in this way first. The sun dries the wet clay quickly and by the time the walls have been muddled in the mixture is hard enough to be smoothed with wooden scrapers to make an outside surface. The same process is completed inside. A final

smoothing of the walls may be done next day when the clay is almost dry. They are scraped finely on the inside with a small scraper until the surface is smooth. The result is a hard, solid wall which may vary from three to five inches or even thicker in the case of some of the chiefs' large ceremonial houses. The walls are then left to dry before whitewashing, and they may stand thus without roofs for two or three weeks as in Plate Hd. There remain to be built the clay platform for the veranda and the floor inside, also made of hard stamped clay; this latter, however, is usually made after the roof has been put on. The whitewashing is the last stage of all and is done with brushes made of bundles of grass laced together at one end to form a sort of handle.



FIG. 1. ROOF FRAMEWORK OF RECTANGULAR  
HOUSE AWAITING THATCH

*Detail of Plate Hf, taken from below; note supporting post and double ring at apex which serves to tie the framework poles securely.*

The roof is made either on the house itself or on a separate framework on the ground (see Plate Ha). With a new house it is usually built straight on to the walls. To do this a horizontal pole is thrown across the top of the walls to provide a platform on which a man can stand while building. He ties to it an upright support for the roof, which will be taken away when the framework is complete. He first leans two or three short poles up against this upright, with their ends resting on the top of the walls. He binds two circular branch bands round the top, one inside and one out. Into this solid ring the ends of finer saplings and branches are securely tied (see fig. 1). Double transverse bands of saplings are then bound round the branches to make a framework, one outside and one

\* With Plate H and four text figures. Part I (MAN, 1950, 134) appeared in the July issue and dealt principally with more general aspects of Bemba housing, as distinct from actual building methods.



inside; Plate Ha shows three such bands. Smaller branches may be tied on to these bands to give more support to the thatch in the lower part of the roof. (When a roof framework needs repair, the work may be done on the ground as in Plate Ha, where the roof supports have been tied round a central post, hammered into the earth; this is the method commonly used when a new roof is to be



FIG. 2. MAKING A DOOR AT MWUMBU, 1934

*Fine twigs are bound together between two rows of uprights fixed in the ground; the end nearest the camera requires trimming.*

put on an old hut.) The final steps consist of trimming the ends of the branch framework neatly to form an even edge.

The bark strips used in making the framework are about an inch or two in width; they are soaked in water to make them pliable and knotted together to increase their length. A coil of such bark strips is seen in Plate Ha.

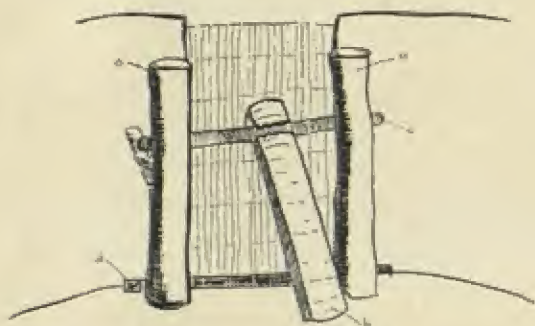


FIG. 3. CLOSING A DOOR AT NIGHT (CHINSALI, 1931)

(a) Stout posts sunk in the ground about 1 foot inside the door; (b) heavy log notched near top end and leant against reed door; (c) crossbar resting in notches in (a) and (b); (d) log placed across bottom of door

There are various methods used for thatching roofs. The strongest and most satisfactory thatching material seems to be the thick reed grasses known as *amatete*, of which the stalks are about as thick as wheat stalks. Bundles of these reeds are spread out over the lower sections of the roof, level with the edge. They are then tied on with bark rope and a new layer spread on top. However, thinner grass is

often used when it is the only material available, and this has to be tied on more carefully with a network of bark rope strands. The reed roofs can be neatly trimmed to make a hard edge, as in Part I, fig. 1, whereas the finer grass does not so easily give this effect. Once the thatch is put in position an edging is made of a rope of grass bound on at the bottom edge both above and below. A little ornamental knob of grass makes the apex of the roof; it is formed by taking a small bundle of grass or straw and plaiting the top to make a firm end. The method is similar to that used for making Bemba brooms. The knob is then tied in position on the top of the hut as in Plate He. There is a special romantic interest attached to this knob, known as the *nsonshi*, which is considered an important part of the house, and a symbol of its life. The *nsonshi* symbolizes the man, whereas the hearth symbolizes the woman, in many Bemba songs.

All Bemba roofs have eaves projecting about three or four feet. Where a veranda is to be made, a platform about one to two feet high is built of stamped mud. Thick posts about the height of the wall are then collected from the

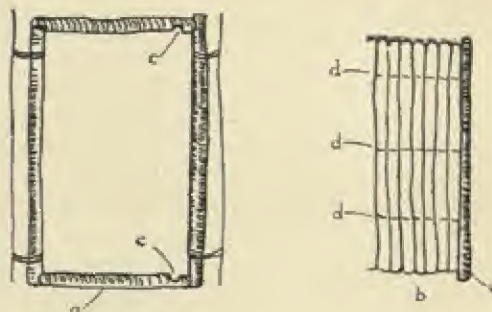


FIG. 4. CONSTRUCTION OF REED-PALM DOOR

(a) Door frame of reed-palm poles (diameter c. 4 inches) tied to two wall posts, and socketed at (c) to receive the door (b), made of palm poles with a groove at one side so that each fits closely to the next; these are threaded together at three points (d) and trimmed at the ends, the last one (e) being left longer at each end to fit the sockets (c). The door is not tied to the frame but moves stiffly in the sockets.

bush; they have to be forked at one end and are then sharpened at the other. The fork is placed under the last transverse band which forms the roof edge. Two men hold the post and raise it into position, and then sink the pointed end into a groove made in the platform. Sometimes two posts are fixed side by side as in Plate Ha, either to support a heavy roof or for ornamental effect. The platform is then covered with clay and whitewashed over.

In the case of a rectangular hut or a very large one, the veranda roof is sometimes built separately. This is done by putting a few temporary forked posts round the veranda edge and supporting transverse poles in the forks. Small branches are then tied to the main roof and supported on these transverse poles as shown in Plate Hf. The projecting eaves are thatched separately.

Ceremonial houses are built in a very similar way, but the building of a high house is a difficult problem. Some such houses have a permanent centre post which supports



the weight of the roof, rather than a temporary upright removed when the roof is built. Such uprights seem to be only roughly in the centre of the building. For instance, the measurements taken of one hut in a Mwamba's village showed that the apex of the roof was quite asymmetric; the diameter of the hut was 19 feet 1 inch, but the pole stood 10 feet 7 inches from one wall and 8 feet 6 inches from the other. A house of this kind needs considerable planning, storing of reeds and searching for high wall posts, and is a matter of considerable pride to the builders, who point out how difficult it was to make so high an edifice. Chiefs' houses very often have a closed-in veranda made of reeds, and a pole fence (*ilingo*) usually surrounds their quarters.

A rectangular house is made in a very similar way to a round one. The old method of building is merely adapted and some clumsy experiments are tried. The walls seldom form a true rectangle. The roof of a rectangular house is often a very elaborate affair, built with the aid of one or two supporting posts which sometimes remain in position permanently. Rectangular houses near European habitations are made with carpentered doors. They often have windows which are cut when the wall posts are in position waiting to be muddled in.

There are two common ways of making doors, with reeds and with split bamboo. For a reed door stakes are driven into the ground in two rows about three inches apart; the space between the double row of posts is then

filled with reeds which are then bound together with bark rope. Once the reeds are firmly lashed in three or four places the whole is taken out and is trimmed at both ends with an axe to fit the doorway it is to serve (see fig. 2). The construction of the bamboo door is more ingenious. Poles about four inches in diameter are notched on each side so that they will interlock. The poles are then chiselled through with an axe end in three places and threaded through with three short rods. The ends are then trimmed even with the last pole left about two inches higher than the rest in order to pivot into a socket in the door frame. The door frame itself is made of bamboo rods lashed together to form a square and with a socket for the door on one side (see fig. 3).

There are many devices for fastening doors securely against intruding goats, although they cannot be locked in any way. A common plan is to lean two heavy logs about four feet in length against the wall, one on each side of the door, a transverse log being fixed into notches made on these logs, and a still heavier post, hooked by a notch into this transverse post, leaning right against the door (see fig. 4).

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See my *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1939, chapter 18.

<sup>2</sup> There are only two bands in the wall of the hut shown in Plate Hc.

## A CRANIOSTAT AND PROJECTOR FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF MAMMALIAN SKULLS \*

by

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### Introduction

**I63** Much of the apparatus which has been designed for measuring human skulls is now expensive, difficult to obtain and of specialized use. For example, the instruments used for measuring angles in the mid-sagittal plane of the human skull are unsuitable for measuring the skulls of small monkeys. The instrument described in this paper has been designed to enable a worker to take long series of both linear and angular measurements rapidly and easily in the mid- and other sagittal planes of monkey skulls.

### Description of the Instrument

*General principles.* The skull is mounted sideways in the craniostat by means of metal spikes placed in its auditory meatuses (fig. 1). The positions of various points in the mid- or other sagittal planes are marked on a sheet of drawing paper by the projector (fig. 2).

*The craniostat* (fig. 3). The stand of the instrument (1) is a wooden box with a base of thick plyboard (2) covered

\* With 4 text figures

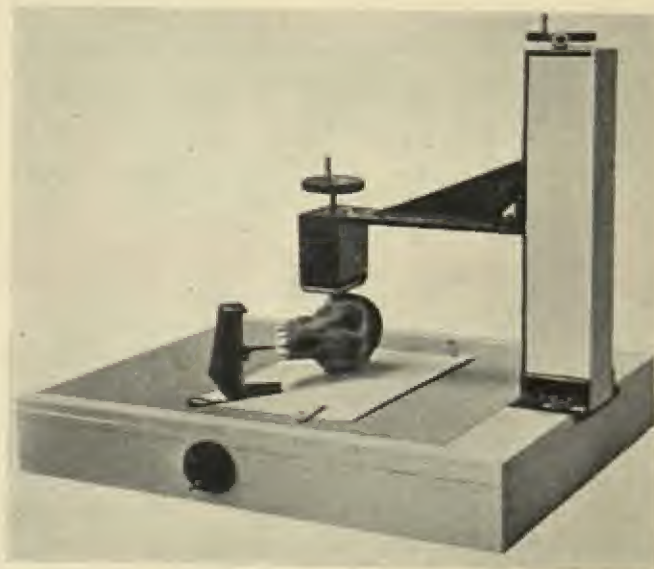


FIG. 1. A BABOON SKULL MOUNTED IN THE CRANIOSTAT



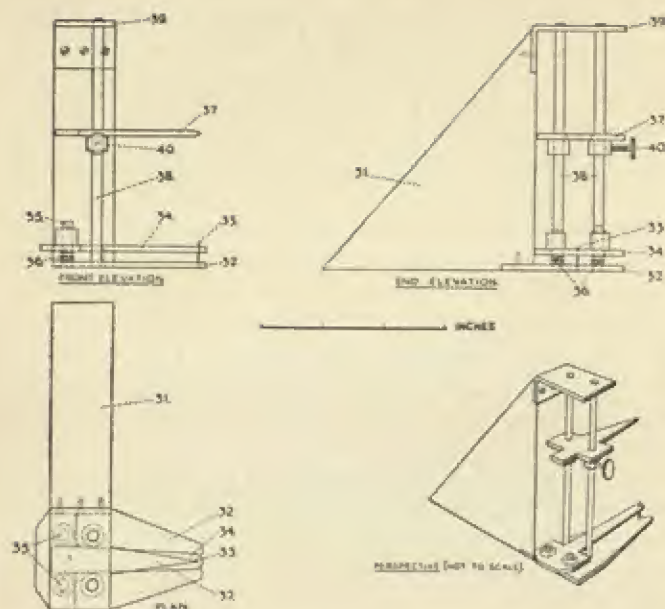


FIG. 2. PLANS AND ELEVATIONS OF THE PROJECTOR

with green baize (3). The box has a perspex top (4) the front of which is covered with a cork mat (5), surrounded by a wooden border (6). Four clips (7) hold a sheet of thick drawing paper in position. They can be moved to the alternative positions 8 when small skulls are being studied. The stand of the instrument is reinforced by the wooden strips 9 and 10. A brass spike (11) fits into the left auditory meatus of the skull. Its projection above the cork surface (5) is controlled by the handwheel 12, whose movements are transmitted to the spike (11) through the gears 13 and 14. The collar of the gear wheel 14 is threaded, and receives the lower end of the spike (11). The spike (11) and collar are supported on the bearings 15 and 16, which are fixed to the strip 9 and the perspex top (4) respectively. One side of the spike (11) is flattened, and it is prevented from rotating by a guide screw (17). This mechanism enables rotatory movements of the handwheel (12) to be translated into vertical movements of the spike (11). Its travel is limited by a stop screw (18).

A pillar (19) with wooden sides (20) and a metal front (21) is fixed to the perspex base by means of bolts and wing nuts (22). The bracket (23) which carries the arm (24) slides on the metal part of the pillar (19). Its movement is controlled by the handwheel 25. This part of the mechanism

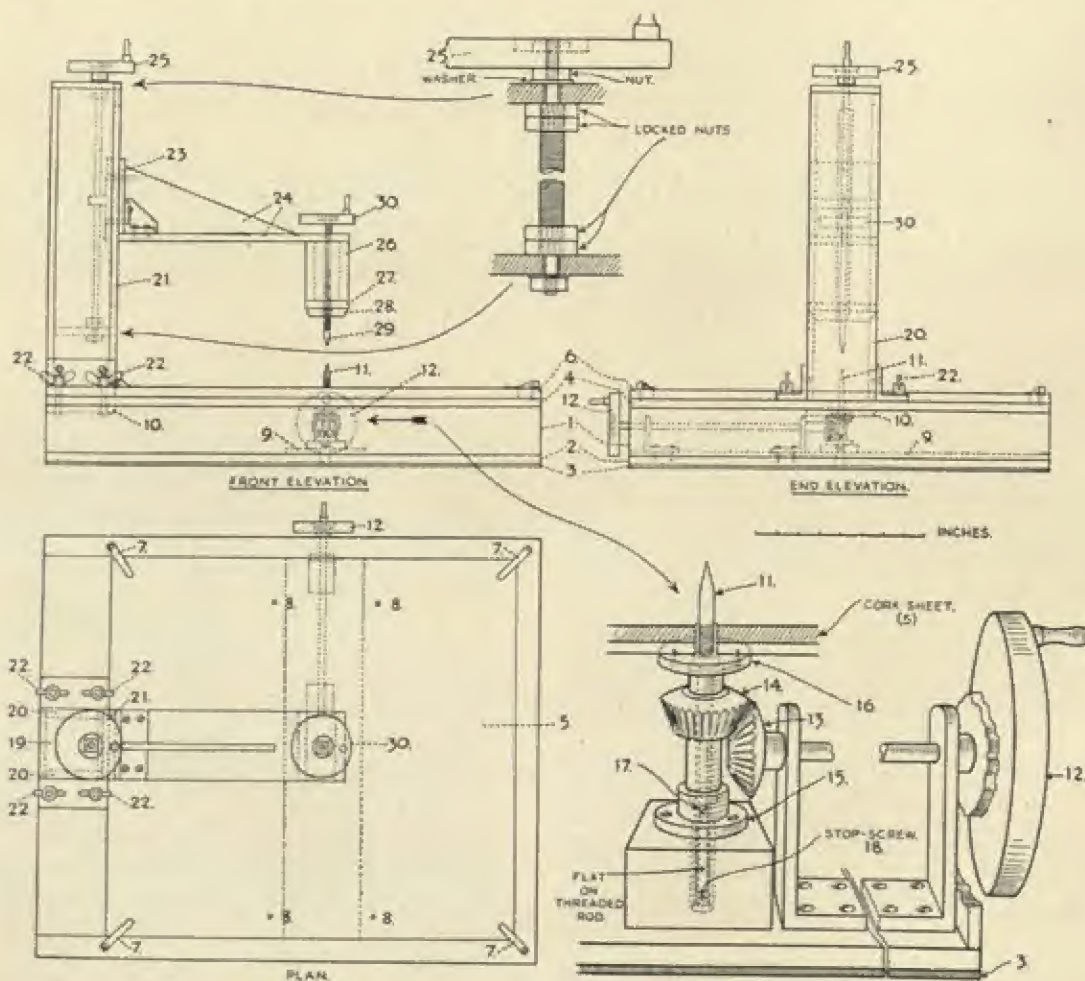


FIG. 3. PLANS AND ELEVATIONS OF THE CRANIOSTAT



is similar to that of the vice described by Ashton (1949). The arm (24) carries a box (26) with wooden sides and a metal base (27), to which is glued a felt pad (28). The arm (24) and the base (27) are drilled and tapped, to carry the spike (29) whose vertical movements are regulated by the handwheel 30. The instrument is adjusted so that the points of the spikes (11 and 29) are opposed.

*The Projector* (fig. 2). This consists of a right-angled wooden block (31) to which is attached a metal base (34). Through this passes a needle (33) which is fixed to the plate 32 riding on the pillars 35. Its movements, which can take place only in a vertical direction, are controlled by two springs (36). A pointer (37) whose end is vertically above the needle (33) moves on the pillars 38 which are fixed to the base plate (32) and to an angle bracket (39). This pointer may be held in any position by the set screw (40).

#### *Use of the Instrument*

A sheet of drawing paper is drilled accurately to fit over the spike 11 and is fixed by means of the clips (7). The spikes 11 and 29 are then adjusted so that little of their length projects beyond the cork or felt. The skull is held on its side with the spikes approximately in line with the auditory meatuses, and the handwheel 25 rotated so that the zygomatic arches are gripped firmly between the paper and the felt pad (28). The spikes are then gently screwed into the meatuses, care being taken to ensure that the skull is not raised from the paper. The pointer (37) is then placed in turn against various points in the mid- or other sagittal plane of the skull, e.g. the nasion, prosthion or basion, care being taken to see that the base (32) is held flat on the paper. Each point is then transferred to the paper and recorded as a pinprick by depressing the plate 34. The position of the lower orbital margin is similarly marked and the Frankfurt Horizontal defined by drawing a tangent from this point to the upper border of the hole through which the spike 11 passed. Linear measurements between the pinpricks are taken with dividers, and angles measured with an 8-inch protractor.

#### *The Accuracy of the Instrument*

The measurements tabulated in Tables I and II were first taken by means of calipers on each of ten female skulls of the South African baboon, *Papio porcarius*. The three angles were calculated by trigonometrical methods. Lengths were recorded to the nearest millimetre and angles to the nearest half degree. Each skull was measured four times in the course of two days. The accuracy of the calipers was checked against engineers' standard blocks. For each attribute that was examined the variance due to inaccuracies in measurement was compared with that actually existing between animals by an analysis of variance (Fisher, 1946). In each case the variance between baboons was significantly greater ( $P < 0.001$ ) than that due to inconsistencies in the measurements, and it is therefore safe to conclude that the estimates of the variance of the dimensions and angles of the ten baboon skulls thus obtained are reliable.

The same series of measurements was taken with the addition of the perpendicular distance from the bregma to the Frankfurt plane, using the craniometer instead of the calipers. Again, in all cases the part of the variance due to differences between baboons was significantly greater ( $P < 0.001$ ) than that due to inconsistencies in the measurements.

The mean value for each variate obtained from the forty measurements taken by means of the standard instruments was compared by means of the *t* test (Fisher, 1946) with that obtained from the forty measurements taken with the craniometer. The maximum difference

TABLE I. TESTS OF ACCURACY AND CONSISTENCY OF BIOMETRIC TECHNIQUE USING CALIPERS AND THE CRANIOMETER

Variate	Comparison of means, using instruments and craniometer		
	% difference between means		P
Prosthion-inion	0.10	—	1.0-0.9
Glabella-inion	0.49	+	0.7-0.6
Nasion-bregma	0.65	+	0.8-0.7
Bregma-lambda	0.06	+	1.0-0.9
Prosthion-nasion	0.34	+	0.9-0.8
Basion-prosthion	0.34	—	0.9-0.8
Basion-opisthion	0.23	—	0.9-0.8
Basion-bregma	0.82	+	0.6-0.5
Lambda-opisthion	1.37	+	0.5-0.4
Nasion-basion	0.25	+	0.9-0.8
Pros.-nds.-bas.	0.65	—	0.7-0.6
Nas.-prós.-bas.	0.32	+	0.8-0.7
Nas.-bás.-pros.	0.73	+	0.6-0.5

The sign + indicates that the mean value obtained when using calipers is greater than that obtained from the craniometer.

thus obtained between the mean values of any variate was approximately 1.4 per cent. of the mean itself. In no case was the difference statistically significant, the lowest value of *P* being 0.5-0.4 (Table I). In nine of the thirteen variates the mean value obtained by measuring with calipers was greater than that obtained when using the craniometer.

This fraction does not deviate significantly from a half ( $\chi^2 = 1.92$  with 1 degree of freedom,  $P = 0.2-0.1$ ). Therefore we have no good evidence to show that measurements taken with the craniometer are consistently larger or smaller than those taken with the instruments normally used for this purpose.



For each measurement the variance due to inconsistencies when measuring with calipers was then compared, by means of a variance ratio, with that associated with craniometer records. In six cases it was greater when using instruments, and in six when using the craniometer. The significance of the variance ratios was tested by reference to

this instrument, and to Mr. R. Dickens for assisting with its construction.

### Summary

A craniostat and projector are described which can be used with mammalian skulls of widely differing sizes and

TABLE II. COMPARISON OF VARIANCES INTRODUCED BY PERSONAL ERROR WHEN USING CALIPERS AND THE CRANIOMETER

		Prosthion-inion	Glabella-inion	Nasion-bregma	Bregma-lambda	Prosthion-nasion	Basion-prosthion	Basion-opisthion	Basion-bregma	Lambda-opisthion	Nasion-basion	Prosthion-basion	Nasion-prosthion	Nasion-basion
Instruments	$\sigma^2$	0.13	0.03	0.17	0.07	0.27	0.43	0.10	0.20	0.33	0.17	0.50	0.17	0.20
	Degrees of freedom	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
Craniometer	$\sigma^2$	0.13	0.17	0.23	0.13	0.33	0.33	0.13	0.13	0.10	0.30	0.17	0.07	0.13
	Degrees of freedom	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
$\pm$		0	—	—	—	—	+	—	+	+	—	+	+	+
F		1.00	5.67	1.35	1.86	1.22	1.30	1.30	1.54	3.30	1.76	2.94	2.43	1.54
Probability		>0.4	<0.002	$\approx 0.4$	$\approx 0.1$	>0.4	$\approx 0.4$	$\approx 0.4$	$\approx 0.2$	$\approx 0.002$	0.2-0.1	0.02-0.002	$\approx 0.02$	$\approx 0.2$

The sign + indicates that the variance of the measurements taken with calipers is greater than that obtained when using the craniometer.

Fisher and Yates' tables (1948). In four cases significant differences appeared ( $P < 0.02$ ; see Table 2). In three of these the measurements taken with the calipers were more variable than those taken using the craniometer. This fraction does not deviate significantly from a half ( $\chi^2 = 1.00$  with one degree of freedom,  $P = 0.5-0.3$ ). The evidence, therefore, does not indicate that in general one method is more or less reliable than the other.

It is therefore safe to conclude that measurements taken by the craniometer are in general comparable with and as reliable as those taken with the usual instruments.

Our best thanks are due to Professor S. Zuckerman for his helpful criticism during the designing and testing of

shapes, and which eliminate much of the elaborate apparatus usually used when taking measurements in the mid-sagittal plane. Tests are described which show that measurements taken with these instruments are comparable with and as reliable as those taken with the orthodox equipment.

### References

- Ashton, E. H., article in *Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, Vol. 1 (N.S.) (1949) p. 595.  
 Fisher, R. A., *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, Biological Monographs and Manuals, No. V, London (Oliver & Boyd), 1946.  
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## SHORTER NOTES

### Southwestern Journal of Anthropology

164 Dr. Leslie Spier, editor of the *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, announces that in order to counter the effects of devaluation and to make the Journal as widely available as possible among non-American readers, the subscription has been reduced to £1 sterling, or the equivalent in other currencies.

### Recent Progress in Michurin-Biology

165 Moscow Radio announced on 7 June, 1950 (according to Reuter, quoted in *The Times*), that 150 Russian biologists at a conference there had accepted as proved the theory of a Russian woman biologist, Professor Olga Borisovna Lepeshinskaya, that life can spring from non-organic matter. When the results of the conference were examined by the

presidium of the Academy of Sciences, it was decided that textbooks teaching that life sprang from cells should be altered, as these theories were 'survivals of idealistic ideas.'

166 *Caste and Government in Primitive Society*. By S. F. Nadel, M.A., Ph.D. Summary of the in Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered before the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society at Edinburgh, 31 March, 1950

In his lecture (following the Annual Dinner of the Society, at which the President, Professor H. J. Rose, St. Andrews University, presided) Dr. Nadel said that according to a certain school of political history the origin of the modern state lies in the conquest of one group by another, so that government and a rudimentary class division, into ruling and subject castes, would



emerge together. This theory, which had a profound influence upon modern political thought when it was first formulated, was backed by evidence from primitive societies. At the time, the evidence was inadequate and unconvincing. But modern anthropological research, especially in Africa, bears out this theory, though only to some extent. For it appears that caste divisions can also arise in a different fashion, namely, in tribes rigidly divided into segments each of which is charged with certain ritual duties vital for the welfare of the whole society. Paradoxically, certain

of these duties, just because they are so vital, are identified with sinister and dangerous powers; the people credited with them are therefore feared, shunned, and treated as 'untouchables'; so that the interdependence of social segments turns into something closely akin to a caste structure. This process again can be studied in certain African societies. Viewed in a wider context, it bears relevantly on the familiar attempts of societies to relate their internal division into inferior and superior groups to some mystically pre-ordained social order.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

**Anthropology.** By A. L. Kroeber. New Edition. London (Harrap), 1949. Pp. xii, 856, xxxix (index), 42 figs. Price 25s.

**167** This is more than a revision of a well-known textbook: the section on 'Correspondences and Sources' (851-6) shows what chapters have been wholly rewritten, and what are the principal changes elsewhere. It is a monument to the industry, learning, and judgment of the author, and presents all the diverse aspects of anthropology in due relation to each other and to kindred sciences. Fair balance is preserved between sections, and also between detailed information and matters of theory and method. No other textbook of anthropology goes so fully and carefully into the systematic aspect of the subject; and in this way it puts before the student much that would otherwise escape his notice.

The 32 pages of double-column index are no measure of the variety of topics, and the preliminary table of contents is full enough to serve as an introduction to the plan of the book. The first five chapters deal with descent and races; then follow language, and the 'nature of culture,' its patterns and processes, illustrated by a long series of studies of inventions and curious distributions of them. The way is now clear for cultural psychology, and the 'fossils of the body and the mind'; the beginnings of civilization, and the later prehistory and ethnology of the Old and the New Worlds.

To have added references or a bibliography would have expanded the volume intolerably; it is indeed a compendious library in itself. Without mentioning many names, Dr. Kroeber shows himself well abreast of current theories and controversies, and has much wise advice to offer; and a sense of humour which enables him to speak plainly without offence. It is a book which makes one think, all the time.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays.** By Bronislaw Malinowski; selected and with an Introduction by Robert Redfield. Boston, Mass. (Beacon Press) and Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press) (London: Allen & Unwin), 1949. Pp. 327. Price 18s.

**168** This collection in a single volume of some of the best-known essays of Bronislaw Malinowski will be welcomed by anthropologists, who, though already familiar with their contents, doubtless will find it convenient to have them accessible in this form.

As Dr. Redfield points out in his Introduction, Malinowski combined the genius of the artist in his intimate understanding of 'the warm reality of human living' with 'the cool abstractions of science' in seeing and declaring the universal in the particular. Thus, in the discussion of 'Magic, Science and Religion,' reprinted from the composite volume entitled *Science, Religion and Reality*, the differentiation of the sacred and profane was skilfully demonstrated because the author knew precisely wherein lay the fundamental cleavage between the two disciplines, and at what points they converged. Similarly, with regard to magic, religion and *mana*, the subtle distinctions and common elements did not escape his keen eye and acute powers of analysis.

In the small book *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, long out of print in the 'Psyche Miniatures' Series (Kegan Paul, 1926), the role of myth as 'a direct expression of its subject matter,' and 'a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious

wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, even practical requirements,' was illustrated largely from the author's own material collected in his Trobriand villages. But it will be to the essay on 'The Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands' that readers will turn for the native texts and the more technical information concerning the life, beliefs and customs of the region he had made peculiarly his own, the inhabitants of which he investigated with such sympathetic understanding. Therefore, the illuminating account of his own field methods, briefly described at the end of this article, will be read with special interest.

In the two concluding papers, one on 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages,' and the other on 'An Anthropological Analysis of War,' he applied his knowledge, experience and method to more general topics. Thus in the domain of semantics the position to which he had been led by the study of primitive languages from Papuo-Melanesia proved to be not essentially different from that of the other contributors to the volume *Meaning of Meaning*, edited by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards (1923). In its primitive function language, he maintained, must be regarded as 'a mode of action' rather than as a 'countersign of thought,' 'the communion of words' being a sacramental means of fellowship between hearer and speaker. Thus words employed in 'phatic communion' fulfil a social function, so that language was assigned an essentially pragmatic character as an indispensable element of concerted action. The meaning of words, in short, was rooted in their pragmatic efficiency.

Finally, in the anthropological analysis of war a balance was struck between aggressiveness as 'instinctual behaviour' and the theory of primeval pacifism. Here again 'the functional method' was adopted in the determination of the cultural role of pugnacity. As a mechanism of organized force for the pursuit of national policies in the crystallization of statehood, war was represented as slowly evolving from individual, sporadic and spontaneous acts of violence, leading up to an anthropological analysis of total war under modern conditions. This posed the problem whether the integral organization of totalitarian violence was compatible with the survival of culture. The article was written in 1941, but as the debate continues the discussion is still of topical interest, like so many other matters brought under review in this illuminating volume.

E. O. JAMES

**Social Structure.** By G. P. Murdock. New York (Macmillan), 1949. Pp. xvii, 387. Price £1 13s. 6d.

**169** This challenging book needs to be read and discussed by every serious social anthropologist. Few perhaps will be prepared to accept Professor Murdock's conceptual categories without modification and fewer still, I should imagine, will be prepared to accept his conclusions, but the importance of the book cannot be questioned. Briefly the content of the book may be summarized as follows. Chapters 1-6 provide a careful critique of the categories and units which anthropologists use to describe and analyse the facts of kinship organization. This analysis and the redefinition of categories which accompanies it is in line with the classical work of Rivers and Lowie. For the most part the argument



here seems to me extremely clear-headed and valuable. Professor Murdock rightly stresses the inadequacy of the classical emphasis upon unilineal descent systems and of confining patterned residence rules to the two types 'matrilocal' and 'patrilocal.' He therefore introduces a number of new technical terms such as 'avunculocal,' 'neolocal' and 'deme,' most of which seem fully justified.<sup>1</sup> More questionable is his redefinition of the term 'clan' to describe a species of local grouping somewhat resembling an overgrown 'extended family.' This new use of an old term is likely to increase rather than lessen the student's confusion. One may also comment that Professor Murdock's terminological hyper-precision still fails to differentiate many important sociological categories. For example, the category 'matrilocal' still includes (a) societies in which the husband leaves the community of his kinsfolk and lives as a stranger in the community of his in-laws, and also (b) societies where husband and wife have lived in the same community since childhood and the husband, on marriage, merely changes his house or hearth group but not his community. In view of the use made of statistics in the latter part of the book, this lumping together of diverse social categories would seem to be a serious defect. Other features which seem especially worthy of note in these early chapters are the discriminating references to polyandry (pp. 25f.), and the whole of Chapter 6, which is in effect a careful analysis of the principles of identification underlying classificatory kinship systems and their behavioural correlates. Less attractive is a curious section (pp. 51-55) where the author lets fly at Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of Australian kinship systems with an irritated dogmatism that seems rather out of place in a book which above all else seeks to avoid bias in the selection of data.

Chapter 7 starts off admirably as a criticism of the various types of theory that have been put forward to explain the peculiarities of kinship terminology, but at page 127 Nemesis suddenly appears in the guise of Mathematical Statistics. As long ago as 1899 Tylor suggested that anthropological postulates about correlates between different aspects of kinship behaviour might be tested statistically, and from time to time other less eminent authorities have attempted the same thing. Alas, it is vain; no matter how formidable the mathematical apparatus, statistical method cannot obtain significant correlations from a wholly non-random sample, and Professor Murdock's sample of 250 societies is in no sense random. For example, of the 250 societies Eurasia gets only 34 and no less than 8 of these belong to a closely associated group of tribes in the Assam-Burma border area; these 8 societies in all represent perhaps a population of 250,000 people but they count as 8 units in the statistics; 400 million Chinese with an equal variety of kinship systems count as only one. A detailed criticism of the statistical method employed would, however, require a lengthy article; I would advise the reader simply to ignore Professor Murdock's statistics and consider his verbal arguments on their own merits without regard for the alleged mathematical proof.

Chapter 8 entitled 'Evolution of Social Organization' is extraordinary, to say the least. Professor Murdock recognizes six major types of kinship terminology—Lowie, it may be remembered, was satisfied with only four—and eleven 'primary types of kinship organization.' By reasoning which I personally find it impossible to follow, Professor Murdock seems to claim that these basic types can be converted into other forms over an historical period only in a logically limited number of ways. Hence the present-day kinship and residence arrangements can be interpreted inductively as portraying the structural evolution of the group concerned. This proposition is worked out in full for each of the 250 sample societies in Appendix A (pp. 323-52). Granted that this is a quite astonishing *tour de force*, one must point out that the conclusions arrived at can, by their very nature, never be either proved or disproved.

Chapter 9 contains interesting quantitative information regarding the incidence of different types of prohibitory and permissive regulations as regards matters of sex. The conclusions in this case are fairly conventional, as also are those in Chapter 10 where the topic is Incest. Chapter 11, which is a summary of conclusions, is an anti-climax. At the end we are presented with the formidable truism that: 'In summary, the law of sexual choice, which in another society might lead to cross-cousin marriage, when it operates in

the context of our own particular social structure predisposes the unmarried American male to prefer, both in marriage and in informal sex liaisons, a woman of his own age or slightly younger, with typically feminine characteristics, who is unmarried, resides in his own neighbourhood or at least in his own town, belongs to his own caste and social class, and exhibits no alien cultural traits' (p. 321). Such a sentence makes one wonder whether all this potter about kinship really has any significance at all. But in fact, in this conclusion, Professor Murdock does not do himself justice. It may be true, I rather think it is, that some of the more portentous 'statistically validated' assertions in this book are nothing more than platitudes; the fact still remains that there are also many brilliant, penetrating and provocative arguments and these must be taken seriously.

E. R. LEACH

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Except, in the first two cases, on etymological grounds. The shade of Lewis Carroll may well be pained to hear the portmanteau word debased by being used, with a straight face, in a sober work of science. And 'neolocal,' if not replaced by 'novolocal,' calls at least for a hyphen.—ED.

#### Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World.

By Margaret Mead. London (Collnace), 1949. Pp. xii, 477. Price 18s.

In the first part of this book Dr. Mead summarizes sex relationships among the Samoans, Balinese and other peoples among whom she has done her fieldwork. The patterns of these relationships, as readers of MAN will have learned from her earlier writings, vary greatly, and it can hardly be supposed that any such pattern is natural or normal. Dr. Mead ridicules the idea that savages live more naturally than the civilized, and gives, as examples of learned behaviour, paternal affection and the female orgasm.

She mentions three essential differences between the sexes. The first is that the stages of a woman's life, menarche, defloration, pregnancy, childbirth and menopause, are definite events. The corresponding stages in a man's are indefinite, and can be made to seem definite only by ritual and convention. The second is that in order to fulfil her creative role a woman has simply to be a woman. She can achieve motherhood merely by allowing herself to be impregnated. A man, on the other hand, must exert himself to achieve any form of creation. The third is that 'the female child's earliest experience is one of closeness to her own nature,' whereas 'the little boy learns that he must begin to differentiate himself from this person closest to him' (p. 148). We may be impressed by the two first while doubting whether self-consciousness exists as early as the suckling stage.

In the second part of the book Dr. Mead deals with the sexes in contemporary America. The Americans worship success in every form, but the success pattern for women is not nearly so simple as it is for men. A girl must compete with boys at school and for jobs, and be a success at 'dating,' in which there is a premium on frigidity. At marriage she must change suddenly into an amorous wife and a home-maker who, until her children begin to grow up, will have almost no time for outside interests. It is not surprising that divorce is common. Dr. Mead concludes a very interesting book with an essay on what, in her view, should be the future of sex relationships in civilized society.

RAGLAN

#### A Survey of Primitive Money. By A. Hingston Quiggin. London (Methuen), 1949. Pp. xxii, 344, bibliog., illus. Price 45s.

This book has an introduction by Dr. A. C. Haddon, who died in 1940, and this provides some measure of the time and trouble it has taken Mrs. Quiggin to put her material into final form and see it through the press. It has been worth waiting for and will undoubtedly constitute a standard work of permanent value. For the 344 pages of text, which include 10 pages of bibliography and 10 of index, and are illustrated by 34 plates (two of them in colour), 143 line illustrations in the text and four maps, give us a complete survey of primitive money arranged geographically, which is probably the only way in which so extensive an account could be given satisfactorily. The survey itself is



exhaustive and includes the great majority of the extraordinary forms which currency takes from China to Peru, their value as money being almost invariably due either to the scarcity of the product or to the difficulty of its production.

A great deal of it might be taken at first sight to be valuable goods but not currency. Indeed the author herself stresses the fact that many of her objects of currency are never current. But she more than justifies their inclusion as money, not perhaps so much by her definition of money as by her theory of its origin, which is, I believe, new, at any rate in the form in which she presents it, and which is at least as convincing as any such theory hitherto advanced.

Money, if it is to be allowed the title at all, must, according to Mrs. Quiggin, perform three functions: it must act as a medium of exchange, as a standard of value, and as a symbol of wealth, and the most important thing about it is that people must be willing to accept it. Durability, portability, divisibility and the possession of a natural unit are obvious desiderata if of less importance.

Like some earlier writers on the subject Mrs. Quiggin declines to see the origin of money in barter. Laum put forward a theory that money, or at any rate the use of it in trade, was derived from the use of oxen as sacrifices, the oxen being first substituted for human beings, and then handed to the family of the dead man instead of being slaughtered on his grave, or alternatively given to priests in fees for sacrifice to the gods; oxen were hence used as units of economic value in spite of the inconvenience of a highly rated and indivisible unit, not because of its value as an already recognized unit of commodity. 'Fee,' it is true, comes from the Gothic *faihu* = 'cattle,' and it is doubtless correct that the Vedas forbade an ancient Hindu priest to accept slaves, horses or sheep as presents but permitted him to accept cattle, but Laum's derivation is still too narrow to be convincing. Mrs. Quiggin will not allow cattle to be covered by her definition of money, and presumably she regards cattle as getting no nearer to it than 'money-barter,' but she is on doubtful ground. Though cattle are not precisely portable they are easily driven, and in Assam they are commonly divisible while alive, as a man prefers to own four quarters of four beasts in different herds to possessing one whole beast, the distribution giving greater security against rinderpest, tiger and contagious abortion. At any rate cattle probably constitute the most widely used standard of exchange in primitive communities, and they are almost universally used in payments for brides and as blood money, which Mrs. Quiggin regards as playing a greater part than barter in the evolution of money. It is, she holds, the regular recourse to and the conventionalization of such payments that have produced money, rather than barter and purely economic needs, as their use for such purposes has led to the fixation of a standard of value.

Incidentally Mrs. Quiggin has something to say in passing about 'the incorrect term "bride price."' She rejects as unsatisfactory all the terms suggested as substitutes by correspondents in MAN from 1929-1931, and indeed several of them were clumsy or foolish if not downright inaccurate; she does not consider however the term 'marriage price' used by Assam administrative officers, which is perhaps the least unsatisfactory of all, since it is not a conscious substitution for 'bride price,' but has grown into use naturally, and long before anthropologists concerned themselves with the terminology, by being the best term to express what the payment really is—the money handed over as the price of assuming the status, privileges and duties of a married man, together with the right to include the children of the marriage in the father's exogamous unit.

But the establishment of a monetary system is not entirely due to marriage price and blood money alone. Trade and barter do enter into it and in this connexion we may quote Mrs. Quiggin herself: 'When armrings are too small to be worn but have definite equivalent values in sago; when overgrown axe blades are exchanged for pigs . . . , currency is establishing itself, and these special objects, becoming more specialized and unfit for domestic use, are acquiring the token characters that we recognize in money.'

Primitive money is not necessarily, we are reminded, universal in application. One kind may be needed to buy food, but another for a canoe, yet a third for a wife. In established currencies a distinction may be made between money which is just token money like a £1 note and money with intrinsic value, which is 'full-bodied

money,' like a sovereign. But a sovereign is coined money and Mrs. Quiggin's invaluable volume is concerned with every kind of currency which passes for money before the introduction of minted coins. Beads and, still more, cowries are indeed of world-wide use, cowries in particular being admirably near the essentials of money—pleasant and easy to handle, cleaner than coin, easy to count and impossible to counterfeit, failing only nowadays in minuteness as a unit of value. But most primitive currencies are limited geographically and restricted in circulation. Mrs. Quiggin has them all on her list; she has given us the facts as well as the theory, and they are more than satisfactory. It remains to praise highly the photographs of Mr. Strickland and Mr. Tams, and the drawings of Mrs. Kennett which add enormously to the value and enjoyment obtained by the reader. J. H. HUTTON

**Social Worlds of Knowledge.** By V. Gordon Childe. L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture No. 19. O.U.P., 1949. Pp. 26. Price 2s.

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In this brilliant lecture, which all social anthropologists and their students should study, Professor Childe sets out to elucidate how man conceives of his environment. He quotes various archaeological and anthropological researches and the opinions of modern scientists and philosophers to support the thesis that a society constructs its own environment. For 'the environments to which societies are adjusted are worlds of ideas, collective representations that differ not only in extent and content, but also in structure. Incidentally [the arguments] were selected to suggest how these worlds of knowledge must each have been, and be, conditioned by the whole of the society's culture, and particularly its technology' (pp. 22f.). Professor Childe develops this thesis with stimulating lucidity.

He demonstrates anew that collective representations (the categories in which a society casts and transmits its knowledge) vary from society to society, according to their technological and structural development, and therefore praises Lévy-Bruhl for 'dispelling the illusion of the "uniform working of the human mind" that vitiates the conclusions of such nineteenth-century ethnographers as Morgan and Tylor.' He cites approvingly the analysis of ancient thought by the Frankforts, Wilson and Jacobsen (*Before Philosophy*) which is based largely on Lévy-Bruhl. Most anthropologists now stress that collective representations constrict individuals, but many would not find the argument that men's minds are not uniform so acceptable. Psychology shows that all men have similar basic psycho-physiological structures and mechanisms. Then Professor Childe falls into the error, perhaps inevitable for an archaeologist, of interpreting primitive man's mental behaviour from the collective representations of his society. These representations are dominant and do indeed, as he stresses, determine the individual's view of his environment; but these representations are of many kinds which operate in different situations for different participants or varying categories of social relations. The collective representations appropriate to these categories of social relations may be schematically inconsistent and even contradictory, and it is incorrect to deduce mental behaviour from one set of them. Thus he concludes that for simpler societies 'nature was still alive and personal; man's relation to his environment was an I-thou and not an I-It relation.' We know now that this is a gross over-simplification. The most important work which demonstrates this is Evans-Pritchard's *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*. Here Evans-Pritchard describes how, though the Azande react in terms of collective representations to their physical and social environment, the representations are not set but flexible, and in the same situations various individuals use different representations. For example, Evans-Pritchard shows that Azande 'recognize plurality of causes . . . [and] it sometimes happens that the social situation demands a commonsense, and not a mystical, judgment of cause'; that scepticism exists; above all, that beliefs in witchcraft and magic do not exclude, but embrace and use, scientific analysis, even if at a crude level. What is striking in Professor Childe's citations from anthropologists is that he does not cite any of Evans-Pritchard's work, though he, more than any other modern anthropologist, has dealt with these epistemological problems. Professor Childe should consult, besides the book on witchcraft, Evans-Pritchard's study of



*The Nuer* and his essay on Lévy-Bruhl's *Theory of Primitive Mentality* (Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the Cairo University, Vol. II, Part 1, pp. 1ff.).

Evans-Pritchard demonstrates that there is an underlying uniformity in man's behaviour in society, though not in the sense that Morgan, Tylor and Frazer (whom Childe correctly criticizes) assumed. And this brings me to the initial problem raised by Professor Childe: 'sociologists, whether archaeologists or ethnographers, want to observe cultures. But the instrument of observation is itself culture. The results of observation must be expressed in the categories which we have inherited from our own society. There is an issue that is at once epistemological and sociological.' To this basic problem in sociology Childe in the end gives no answer, unless it be the counsel of despair that 'the historians' business is to locate in their proper social and chronological context these thoughts that are still living and active in our culture. Thereby they suffer no relativity distortion.' This is no solution of how to translate from the categories of one culture into those of another.

The problem can be solved. Evans-Pritchard has succeeded in making Azande behaviour, motivated by collective representations of witchcraft, oracles and magic, intelligible to us. If it be answered that this may involve a distortion, I would quote the judgment on this book of an educated African chief, who was given it by another anthropologist: 'This man understands witchcraft. The trouble is he does not believe in it.' The alternative is 'cultural solipsism.'

MAX GLUCKMAN

**What is Man? Evolution's Answer.** By Alfred Machin. London (Watts), 1949. Pp. vi, 209. Price 10s. 6d.

**173** The author's thesis is that all the phenomena of human culture can be explained in terms of evolution and natural selection. In expounding it he commits himself to many unwarranted generalizations. He tells us, for example, that 'men seem to have an instinctive aversion to anything which suggests kinship or affinity to animals,' and says that this would have survival value by maintaining distinctively human qualities. But if, instead of considering only the pig, dog, skunk, rabbit and reptile, he had considered only the lion, hawk, lamb, dove and bee, he would have come to the opposite conclusion.

He deals at length with the American Indians, whom he supposes to have been a completely homogeneous race of primitive hunters and warriors, and a perfect example of adaptation to environment.

Men, he repeatedly tells us, instinctively hate work and hate other men, but he fails to explain why the forces which have evolved civilized communities have failed to evolve civilized men to live in them.

RAGLAN

**An Outline of Psycho-analysis.** By Sigmund Freud, trans. by James Strachey. London (Hogarth Press), 1949. Pp. ix, 84. Price 8s. 6d.

**174** Freud's last work, left uncompleted at the time of his death, is a short and masterly statement of his final psycho-analytic beliefs. If for no other reason, it should be read as a historic last document from the pen of a great man. But it is far more than this. It is a lucid crystallization of ideas which have profoundly affected modern thought. It seems incredible that it should be the work of an old man, an exile of over 80, suffering continually from a painful disease.

As psycho-analysis has spread and developed throughout the world, many of Freud's original hypotheses have been modified—he himself had the courage and clarity to face charges of inconsistency in altering his views as his knowledge grew—and there are now several schools and cliques of Freudian thought. Some of these are associated with anthropological work—e.g. Gorer, Kardiner, Kluckhohn—and it is among these, and the 'neo-Freudians' generally, that Freud's more biological approach is felt to lay insufficient stress on the cultural determinants of personality. The famous duel between Ernest Jones and Malinowski in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* is an early and excellent example of the controversy. However, in all these divergencies there is a tendency to forget that innumerable discussions—themselves the whetstones

against which our research tools are sharpened—could not have occurred were not both sides influenced by Freud's basic tenets concerning the existence of the unconscious and the techniques of its exploration. Some writers concerned with these matters have even gone so far as to say that they owe nothing to Freud; and innumerable thousands who have never read a word of psychology have, without realizing it, gained a little insight and lost a few prejudices through the indirect influence of this remarkable man. In fact it may be one of the indications of greatness that one's teachings become so much a part of the cultural heritage that their origin is forgotten.

One cannot imagine, and Freud would not have wished anyone to suppose, that this book is the last word on psycho-analysis. It is possible that there are more fruitful lines of research to be followed through unorthodoxy than by absolute adherence to the master's own concepts. But all progress in these directions postulates in the background the towering figure of Freud.

ADAM CURLE

**Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend, Vol. I (A-I).** Edited by Maria Leach, with Jerome Fried. New York (Funk & Wagnall), 1949. Pp. 531. Price £3

**175** A list of distinguished consultants and contributors allays initial scepticism about the usefulness of a two-volume 'dictionary' of folklore, a field in which very heterogeneous material is still assembled from every quarter of the world. 'Completeness was an end never contemplated,' the Editor explains, and recalls that the Gommers abandoned the compilation of a folklore dictionary when they found that four years (1894-98) had sufficed only for recording children's games in the British Isles. It is claimed, however, that the present attempt gathers 'a representative sampling' of the gods of the world, the folk and culture heroes, tricksters and numskulls; of the folklore of animals, birds, plants, insects, stones, gems, minerals and stars; of dances, ballads, folk songs, festivals and rituals; of food customs and their significance; of games, children's rhymes, riddles and tongue-twisters; of diviners, 'lookmen,' witches, witchcraft, omens, magic charms and spells; and of the supernatural beings of folk belief and story. Some items have been included because of their wide diffusion or importance, others because of their uniqueness or obscurity.

Reference to a number of entries shows that this dictionary does indeed facilitate a study of folklore terminology, although it does not seek to reconcile present inconsistencies, or to establish standards for future use. Thus under the term 'folklore' itself there are reproduced the varying definitions, some briefly descriptive, some analytical or discursive, given by the main contributors: J. Balys, M. Barbeau, W. R. Bascom, A. M. Espinosa, G. M. Foster, T. H. Gaster, M. Harmon, M. J. Herskovits, G. Herzog, R. D. Jameson, G. P. Kurath, MacE. Leach, K. Luomala, J. L. Mish, C. F. Potter, M. W. Smith, Archer Taylor, Stith Thompson, E. W. Voegelin and R. A. Waterman. A welcome feature is the inclusion of 23 'survey articles,' most of them regional and covering African and New World Negro folklore; American, Basque, Celtic, Cherokees, Chinese, Estonian, European, Finnish, Finno-Ugric, French and Germanic folklore; Australian aboriginal, Estonian and Indonesian mythology; and Indian and Persian folklore and mythology. The others are concise studies of the ballad, by Leach; of the fairy tale and the folk tale, by Thompson; of folklore and mythology, by the late A. H. Krappe; and of games, by J. Fried.

Regions are unevenly represented. American Indian and Negro (Old and New World) folklore has received much attention, the Editor states, because of the new material fast accumulating and the growing interest which it arouses, while Greek and Roman myth and religion have been treated more sparingly, because the best known. The Chinese and Japanese parallels cited by Professor Jameson (e.g. under 'fox') are particularly valuable.

Tale types are numbered according to the Aarne-Thompson system, and motifs as in Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, but Vol. II of the dictionary (announced for 1950) will be followed by an Index designed to make it easier for non-folklorists to find what they wish under standardized motif entries, such as 'absurdity rebukes absurdity,' or 'fleeing pancake' (the U.S. nursery story of the 'gingerbread boy').



Both expert and general reader will find the dictionary an instructive and entertaining addition to their works of reference, full of unexpected information. I was gratified to find, for instance, under 'CIAP,' an up-to-date account of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, and under 'abracadabra,' 'birch,' 'eyebrows meeting' and 'fairy rings' much unfamiliar wisdom.

ETHEL JOHN LINDGREN

**Statistical Methods in Research and Production (with special Reference to the Chemical Industry)**, Edited by O. L. Davies. London (Oliver and Boyd), second edition (revised), 1949. Pp. xi, 292, 20 figures. Price 28s.

This book, to quote the foreword, 'is the first of a series of scientific and technical handbooks which Imperial Chemical Industries Limited intend to publish with the aim of making generally available the important body of information accumulated as a result of the Company's manufacturing experience and research.' In fact it is an excellent textbook of those statistical methods which the authors have found to be useful in chemical industry. The chapters deal with Frequency Distributions, Averages and Measures of Dispersion, Tests of Significance, Analysis of Variance, Regression and Correlation, Frequency Data and Contingency Tables, Sampling, Control Charts and Prediction and Specification. For a full understanding of the book considerable mathematical equipment is demanded, though a reader who is not afraid of using symbols freely could manage on only a moderate amount, if he omits some of the appendixes.

The first three chapters are concerned with the concepts fundamental to any statistical study and are sufficiently general to be useful to anyone interested in the subject. The remaining chapters deal with special techniques, and of these the first three contain something of interest to the physical anthropologist. All the techniques described are illustrated by numerical examples with ample details to enable the reader to follow each step, and research workers in fields allied to chemistry will doubtless find these examples very helpful. It is doubtful though how many of them anthropologists will find relevant to their problems. The merit of the book for anthropologists lies in its sound treatment of statistical concepts rather than in details of individual techniques. On those techniques which are used extensively in physical anthropology, such as the coefficient of racial likeness or multivariate analysis in general, the book is naturally enough silent.

Two criticisms of detail may be noted. First, that the analysis of variance is presented always from the point of view where the factors are themselves samples from some Universe; I cannot believe that this always holds in the chemical industry, and it can hardly ever hold in anthropology; some readers may therefore

have difficulty in appreciating the relevance of this method to their problems. A second criticism is that no mention is made of the useful transformations to approximate normality of the correlation coefficient, binomial and Poisson distributions or the variance estimate in testing for variance heterogeneity.

The printing and format are excellent and the text is remarkably free from misprints.

D. V. LINDLEY

**The Old Stone Age.** By M. C. Burkitt. 2nd edition. C.U.P., 1949. Pp. xiv, 254, 9 plates, 30 text figures. Price 12s. 6d.

The second edition of this well established book contains only a minimum of changes. The fact that entire chapters can still stand, after seventeen years, with only minor additions is a tribute to the soundness of the original structure. It is to be regretted that, for technical reasons, additions and changes could not have been fuller. For example, the Swanscombe skull and Mr. Marston scarcely get enough credit in a one-line footnote, while Piltdown retains its original page or so of text.

Mr. Burkitt is justly known for his expertise on the Upper Palaeolithic and the cave art. This section is brought up to date by including the more recent work of Professor Garrod and Miss Caton-Thompson and by a note on Lascaux, with some necessary reconsideration of the art phases. One may be permitted to doubt the 'fugitive' nature of carbon as a pigment.

To the student of the geological approach the changes made represent rather less than the desirable minimum, in view of advances in fact and theory since the first edition. It is an improvement that the Upper Thames gravels are omitted from the correlation, but Hoxne and the Traveller's Rest still appear in places which not all workers would find acceptable.

Some will continue to miss capitals in the names of geological periods, as the zoologist will regret their retention in the trivial name *merckii*, and, surely, *Machairodus 'neogarus'* is a New World species which never existed in Europe?

No cognizance is taken of the now widely entertained theory of glacial eustasy, in view of the existence of which it may seem daring to lump the Chalky Jurassic boulder clay, Boyn Hill and Taplow together under the single heading 'Riss.'

The bibliography contains some essential additions. Room might have been found, under 'Quaternary Geology' for Zeuner's more recent 'Pleistocene Period' in place of Wright's classic 'Quaternary Ice Age.'

Shortcomings must evidently be attributed to the fact that the book was originally printed from stereotypes, so that considerable alterations demanded the scrapping of entire pages. Author and publisher no doubt share the regret which will be felt at such evidence of continuing austerity.

I. W. CORNWALL

## AFRICA

**Trade Routes, Trade and Currency in East Africa.** By A. H. Quiggin. *Occ. Pap. Rhodes-Livingstone Mus.*, No. 5. Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, 1949. Pp. 16, 6 plates. Price 1s. 6d.

Mrs. Quiggin has only recently published a large book on currency in general, and now she gives some account of trade and traders in East Africa.

It seems a pity to introduce the subject with suggestions of Sumerians and Assyrians trading with the country in remote times of which there is not the slightest evidence. Nor is there any likelihood that Sofalah was the unidentifiable Ophir of Solomon; and it is quite unknown what island Qanbalu represents.

There is a slight account of many travellers to the continent beginning with the *Periplus* of the first century A.D., mentioning the probability that the Arabs of Ausan had been there earlier. This is likely to have been as early as 700 B.C. Among the mediaeval travellers the Persian Bozorg might have been included. There are good, short accounts of many Portuguese travellers, of whom Fernandes is the most important. The value of the Sofalah gold trade had been so much exaggerated that slaves became the more valuable export, and this trade was intensified in the seventeenth century because Angola was becoming worked out.

Slaves, salt, cotton cloth, iron, copper, beads and cowries were the chief articles of trade. The 'Katanga crosses' passed from the Cape to Cairo, from Mombasa to Boma. Abyssinian salt blocks were acceptable all across Africa in the sixteenth century. Cast pieces of pewter made a surprising currency on the Zambesi in the seventeenth century. Silent trade has existed into the present century.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

**Ashanti Weights.** By Carl Kjerfve. Copenhagen (Gjellerup), 1948. Pp. 23, with 31 plates. U.K. price 7s. 6d.

Dr. Kjerfve's classic four-volume work *Centres de style de la sculpture nègre africaine* (Paris and Copenhagen, 1935; cf. MAN, 1936, 45 and 1938, 115 and 116) is now not only very expensive but almost unobtainable. For the serious student of African primitive art it is an indispensable item of his reference library: the first comprehensive study of Negro sculpture.

*Ashanti Weights* is a reprint of the essay on the Ashanti in *Centres de style*, translated into Danish and English, and comprises a brief discussion of these Gold Coast people, their history and art, with particular emphasis on the casting technique, the meaning and symbolism of these small masterpieces of *cire perdue* casting in brass,



copper and bronze. The number of pieces illustrated (from the author's own collection) is increased from 43 to 100 and they are carefully described and well reproduced on good paper. For both student and collector this book should be of value.

MARGARET PLASS

**The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Reproductions of Photographic Studies, Vol. III, Section II: The Mpondo and Mpondomise.** By A. M. Duggan-Cronin. Cambridge (Deighton, Bell) and Kimberley (Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum), 1949. Pp. 19, with 40 plates. Price 25s.

This is the latest addition to Mr. Duggan-Cronin's well-known series of photographs, and the same high standard of photography has been maintained as in previous issues. Professor Wilson contributes the introduction, giving a lucid description, designed for the general reader, of Mpondo and Mpondomise social life. It is unfortunate that the term 'witch doctor' has been used, in both the introduction and the captions of the plates, in place of 'diviner.' It is surely preferable to use an accurate term that may not be particularly widely known rather than a more familiar one which usually has a false connotation.

J. A. BARNES

**Miti e Legende: I, Africa, Australia.** By R. Pettazzoni. Turin (Unione Tipografica-Editrice Torinese), 1948. Pp. xxviii, 480, 36 plates and 2 maps. Price 3,800 lire

This bulky volume is a compilation of 291 African and 46 Australian folktales, culled from many authors and translated into Italian. Professor Pettazzoni's sources, as was to be expected, are the best available, and Frobenius, that adept *par excellence* at making the

folktale attractive, is prominent among them. Useful references are given with each group of tales. The book is enlivened with a good selection of plates, some in colour, illustrating the arts of some of the peoples represented in the text; all have been previously published, though some of them are from rather scarce books.

WILLIAM FAGG

**The Feeding and Health of African Schoolchildren.** By B. T. Squires. *Communications from the School of African Studies*, new series, No. 20. Capetown, 1949. Pp. vi, 126. Price \$10

This is an account of the Kanye Nutrition Experiment, carried out by Dr. Squires in Bechuanaland Protectorate between September, 1943, and March, 1946. The experiment was intended to ascertain the effects on the nutritional status of a group of Tswana schoolchildren of a daily supplement of stewed vegetables. Because of the difficulties inherent in the situation, Dr. Squires was unable to make as fully controlled an experiment as he would have wished, and there is an adequate practical reason wherever he has been obliged to deviate from the strictest experimental standards. A daily supplement of  $\frac{1}{2}$ -pint of stew containing the equivalent of 4 oz. mixed fresh vegetables and 1 oz. legumes was given to a group of schoolchildren, and a similar group of non-school children fifty miles away was used as a control. A dental investigation of the same children was also carried out. The results of the experiment showed the supplement to have been a valuable one, though the actual terms of the enquiry were considerably modified by drought in the second year.

A. DRY

## AMERICA

**A Totalitarian State of the Past: The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru.** By Rafael Karsten. *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, Vol. XVI, 1. Helsingfors, 1949. Pp. 288, illus.

For thirty years Professor Karsten has been studying the past and present of the South American Indians, and gives us in this book the results so far as they relate to what was once the empire of the Incas. His authorities are mainly, of course, the early Spanish, or Spanish-Indian, writers, many of whose works have only recently become available. He gives rather a low place to Garcilasso de la Vega, and regards as perhaps the most important the chronicle of Poma Ayala, first published in 1936. He relies also on the archaeological evidence, as well as on such customs of the modern Indians as have probably come down from Incaic times.

His general view is that the Incas introduced little that was new to the culture of South America, but possessed a genius for organization which enabled them to weld a large number of separate communities into what in many respects resembles the modern welfare state. There was a great hierarchy of officials, who controlled every aspect of the people's lives, and while on the one hand all were provided with spouses and land enough to maintain them, and care was taken of those who were sick or crippled, on the other they had to spend a great part of their time in working without pay for the state. The system, as such systems will, began early to ossify, and Professor Karsten thinks that the easy victory of the Spaniards was due to the fact that at the time of their arrival it was already in decline.

Professor Karsten deals at length with the social system, the roads and buildings, law and justice, and religion, in which the sun played an important part, though less than is commonly supposed.

A controversial chapter is that on the *quipu*. In opposition to most authorities, Professor Karsten holds that the *quipu* knots were not used merely to record numbers and as a reminder of facts, but actually formed a system of writing, in which names and events could be recorded. It is, however, unlikely that his arguments will carry conviction.

He ends by recording some pagan customs, particularly mortuary customs, of the modern inhabitants of what was once the Inca empire. Among the Quichua-speaking Indians of Ecuador a dead man's domestic animals have to be gambled away in a dice game

which goes on all night. The die is cast across the corpse, whose hand is believed to direct it.

A more adequate revision of the author's English would have made this very interesting book more comfortable to read.

RAGLAN

**Excavations at Cojumatlan, Michoacan, Mexico.** By R. H. Lister. *Univ. of New Mexico Publ. in Anthropology*, No. 5. Albuquerque, 1949. Pp. 106, 4 plates, 36 text figs. Price \$1.50

This is a painstaking record of excavations made on the southern shores of Lake Chapala, on the borders of Michoacan and Jalisco. It is a most carefully documented book with all specimens tabulated and described in full. The earlier material excavated shows slight analogies to pottery of the 'Colima Complex,' but these are not close enough to make a good case. What is important is the appearance, in the later part of the period covered at the site, of very strong influences of Toltec type. Some of the designs on the incised ware can be exactly paralleled by wares from as far away as Sacrificios Island. The presence of what may be portions of wheeled toys in the Toltec horizon is interesting. Readers will find the terminology in the conclusion of the book rather difficult. This is due to the long delay between excavation and publication. The author was bound to use 'Mazapan' and 'Mixteca-Puebla Complex' to describe phases of the culture now equated with the Toltecs. The datings are, unfortunately, tied to the old belief that Teotihuacan was the Toltec capital, and Mazapan culture traits are thus dated too late in time. However, this does not disturb the important point of the excavation: at this site a local population became greatly influenced by Toltec culture, but they seem to have abandoned the site before either Tarascan or Aztec culture traits appeared. Likewise no trace of Teotihuacano culture has been found at the earlier end of the time scale.

C. A. BURLAND

**The Excavation of Ste. Marie I.** By Kenneth E. Kidd. *Toronto Univ. Press (London: O.U.P.)*, 1949. Pp. xiv, 191, 51 plates, 31 figs. and 12 maps. Price 26s.

Jesuit missionaries built the first Ste. Marie in 1639, and in 1649 they burnt it. Situated near the shores of Georgian Bay, it was their base for work among the Hurons, whose sedentary habits commended them for proselytization and whose strategic position



and commercial acumen channelled the western fur catch through to Québec. By the end of the decade the mounting fires of Iroquois aggression had overwhelmed Huronia, and Ste. Marie stood forlorn in a depopulated wilderness. Taking with them the larger bones of the martyred Brébeuf and Lalemant, the Fathers put the torch to their mission and retired to build Ste. Marie II on Christian Island. A year later that too was abandoned.

In 1941 a party from the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology directed by Kenneth E. Kidd, Deputy Keeper of the Museum's Ethnological Collection, undertook the excavation of Ste. Marie I. Material assistance was given by the Jesuit Order. The site was found to have comprised a substantial *résidence*, a chapel, workshop, and minor installations, protected by a wall and bastions and flanked on two sides by a moat and ditch. The lower courses, of stakes and heavy masonry, were tolerably well preserved, but only ash and charred fragments remained of the timber superstructure.

Of 40,000 specimens recovered about one-tenth were of intrinsic significance. Those of European workmanship included large numbers of metal tools, utensils and building accessories, some pottery and a delicate Venetian glass flask. Indian artifacts were fewer and of known Huron types. Diet was illustrated by fish and animal bones (still in course of identification) and remains of food plants, all of them native to Canada.

The results of the excavation are of twofold interest. For the historian they confirm and supplement contemporary records. To the wider field of post-Columbian archaeology their special importance lies in the provision of an unusually comprehensive series of artifacts of known date which may help in determining the age of other, undated, finds. Further it is hoped that some of the timbers recovered may contribute to a tree-ring calendar for the area.

Mr. Kidd's book is a meticulous record of painstaking work, valuable for the light it throws on the material culture of the seventeenth-century frontier, and evocative enough to send the reader back to Francis Parkman.

GEOFFREY TURNER

**The Desert People.** By Alice Joseph, Rosamond B. Spicer and Jane Chesky. Chicago (Univ. of Chicago Press) and C.U.P., 1949. Pp. xvii, 288, 21 plates and 5 maps. Price £2 8s.

Fourth of the studies to appear from the joint research of the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development and the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, the subject of this book is the Papago Indians of southern Arizona. Each of the three authors wrote a section based on her own research with additional information contributed by her colleagues. Mrs. Spicer worked in the more acculturated eastern district, while Miss Chesky was in the west of the reservation.

The first section, by Mrs. Spicer, presents an admirable summary of Papago environment, history and social life. Although she was limited by the space at her disposal (108 pages), more attention might have been devoted to kin and local groups, less to ritual details and other items not clearly relevant to later sections.

Miss Chesky is concerned with 'Growing Up on the Desert' (52 pages); a picture of Papago children at several ages is presented. Her treatment is so general that many of her statements would apply to most of the world: e.g. the three 'guiding principles' advanced— young children are indulged, seniority gives authority, and males are superior in status to females.

The third section, Dr. Joseph's, contains the crux of the Indian Education Research Project's original contribution to the study of personality and culture: physical examinations and a battery of psychological tests given to school children. Interpreters were used for many of the tests, which were administered largely by local teachers, except for the Rorschach Tests, the Thematic Apperception Tests and the physical examinations, which were given by Dr. Joseph. The tests themselves, the results presented and the uses to which they were put are all subject to criticism. We are told the averages of the Arthur and Goodenough Intelligence Tests for eastern and western Papago but not the range. The Stewart Emotional Response Test asks the subject what occasions have made him sad, happy, afraid, etc. Thus the results for 'shame' are here summarized under the very broad headings of 'embarrassment in public,' 'bad behavior' and 'failure, inadequacy,' and compared to

the percentages of similar responses made by Middle Western white children. There is no discussion of the meanings of supposedly equivalent emotion words in Papago (none of the authors spoke Papago). We are given no examples of the range of responses included in a category, and distinctions between categories are not clear. We are denied Rorschach Tables as too technical, and given, instead, summary statements like 'their intellectual approach seems to be largely subjective interpretation, instead of objective and analytical' (p. 216). Although individual differences are said to be 'quite marked,' only a very generalized interpretation of the Rorschach results for all children is given. The version of the Thematic Apperception Test specially adapted for Indian groups, which is an excellent instrument for personality study, is not discussed.

An appendix gives personality sketches of eight children, said to be unrepresentative. Why was a greater effort not made in the original investigation to acquire individual data on a representative sample?

The three sections of the book are rather poorly related to each other. East-west differences within the reservation, an important consideration in the third section, are hardly discussed in the earlier sections. Joseph's 'family' is neither defined nor explicitly linked with Spicer's 'family' or 'extended family.' Compared to its predecessors in the series, this volume's greatest defects are its lack of direct quotations and examples of test responses. Earlier volumes were, on the whole, justly praised as pioneer efforts for their integrated presentation of social and psychological materials and for their useful administrative suggestions. In this case the social and psychological materials are less convincingly related and administrative policy is hardly discussed. It is disappointing that this latest volume in the series is inferior to the others because of superficial, short-term field work and confusion as to the most fruitful use of psychological tests in anthropology.

PAULA BROWN

**King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung.** By Anthony F. C. Wallace. Philadelphia (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press), 1949.

187 Pp. xiii, 305, maps. Price \$3.50

This is a well written and well produced biography of a Delaware Indian, Teedyuscung, who lived in eastern Pennsylvania during the first half of the eighteenth century. Teedyuscung is known mainly for his activities in the period of the Seven Years War (1754-1763), when, although he held no tribal office he acted as representative of the Delawares in their many negotiations with other Indian groups and the English, negotiations brought on both by the war and by the increasing European settlement. Mr. Wallace's main concern is with the events in which Teedyuscung directly figured; his aim is to present an example of Indian-white conflict in the eighteenth century as well as to portray Teedyuscung as an important Indian of the period. Unfortunately, the reasons for this evaluation are not made clear. Teedyuscung has attracted the attention of many chroniclers, but not nearly enough is known about him for a successful biography. Very little is known about the first thirty years of his life: a few pages are devoted to Delaware child-rearing and religious beliefs, then Teedyuscung is said to be 'fundamentally Delaware in personality' (p. 17). His later years are documented only sporadically by the occasions on which he came into contact with whites, but on this evidence two dominant motives are ascribed to him, a desire for Indian leadership and a desire for identification with the whites. The material on Delaware social structure is equally sparse, and it is doubtful whether in this volume of specialized historical interest ethnologists and social anthropologists working in the area will find answers to many of their questions.

PAULA BROWN

**Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status.** By W. Lloyd Warner,

188 Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells. Chicago (Science Research Associates, Inc.), 1949. Pp. xiii, 274, 10 charts, 32 tables. Price \$4.25

In theory, the authors tell us, every American is born free and equal, but in practice social class enters into almost every aspect of life. Their book describes in great detail the methods adopted for ascertaining the class structure in a given town and placing each



individual in his appropriate class. The factors principally employed are amount and source of income, occupation, and type and situation of house. It would hardly be possible to carry out such a survey unless people of the same class behaved in the same way, and it seems that they do this in America to a greater extent than in this country. The only deviant mentioned is an upper class man who went on living in his house after the quarter in which it was situated had become unfashionable. It seems that class is far more important to women than men. It is they who do most of the social climbing, and they are less willing than men to be friendly with people of lower class.

The authors show that the Marxists are mistaken in maintaining that class distinctions are based solely on money. However rich a man may be he will not be admitted to the upper class unless he follows an approved occupation and derives his income from an approved source. Even then he will have difficulties if he is an immigrant or does not belong to one of the higher-graded Protestant sects.

The authors cite a vast literature on a subject which in this country has been almost completely ignored. RAGLAN

**The Negro's Morale.** By Arnold M. Rose. Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1949. Pp. 153, bibliog. Price \$2.50

**189** To a large extent studies of the racial problem are concerned with the nature of attitudes and prejudices among the dominant group in a situation of race relations, and little attention has been paid to the reactions of the subordinated group. In fact, however, the growth of feelings of race consciousness among the latter is, sociologically, of much importance in explaining the kind of relationship that exists between the two groups, and a knowledge of it is useful, also, in prediction.

Arnold Rose, who worked with Gunnar Myrdal on *An American Dilemma*, has performed a valuable service in tracing the development of American Negro race consciousness, or group morale, as he prefers to term it. It had its beginnings even in slavery and on the plantation; but the Negro 'protest' proper commenced with the meeting of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and other Negro intellectuals at Niagara in 1905, and with the inauguration, a few years later, of

the now well-known N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People). The latter occasion marked, perhaps, the first time that a group of Negroes came together, on terms of complete social equality, with influential White people.

Since then group morale has been fostered in a number of ways: through the personal success, in national and international terms, of individuals like Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Washington Carver, Joe Louis and Ralph Bunche; Negro poets, authors and writers have additionally subscribed to it; the association of outside organizations and agencies, such as trade unions and more particularly the C.I.O., has been important. There have also been vagaries, including the Marcus Garvey movement back to Africa, and the Communist intervention; in as much as the programme of the Communist party has mainly involved the idea of a separate Negro state, it has not aroused much enthusiasm.

Probably the principal mechanism today in the general creation of race consciousness and pride is, as Rose describes it, the Negro press. Its function is not only to propagate the Negro's cause, but to relate nearly every aspect of life to the racial issue, so that most news is 'race' news. The effect of Negro morale is shown most significantly in the political advances made in recent years, and in the fact that the Negro is now a real political force, even to some extent in the South. It is also evident that a large number of leading Negroes look for the future solution of the race problem mainly in terms of this kind, and there is no doubt that this factor, in combination with liberal White opinion, has produced impressive results. There have been the Fair Employment Practice Committee, introduced during the recent war, the abolition of the White 'primary,' and marked successes in the legal contesting of discrimination.

It has to be remembered, however, that the Negro 'protest,' in its most effective sense, is still largely a creation of the North, where also it is chiefly in operation. In most Northern areas the Negro constitutes a small minority. In the South, where his presence is numerically greater, particularly in some rural sections, there is the potentiality in White minds of a definite racial threat, as such, should Negroes become fully vocal and articulate as Negroes; and this suggests that the solution will have to be sought rather in alternative ways. K. L. LITTLE

## EUROPE

**British Prehistory.** By Stuart Piggott. Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 205. O.U.P., 1949. Pp. 208. Price 5s.

**190** With the publication of this book the excuse no longer exists for educated Britons that to learn anything about the early inhabitants of their land they must plough through detailed textbooks. Here is a lucid and well balanced account of the results of modern research presenting prehistoric Britain in its appropriate European, indeed Old World, setting. Professor Piggott is one of the leading exponents of that school of prehistoric archaeology which is not content merely to elaborate typologies and systems of chronology, but which understands the necessity to recapture as much as possible of every aspect of the life and activities of ancient peoples. In this synthesis of British prehistory, the evidence for the economic, social and religious content of identifiable culture groups forms the body of interpretation, and nowhere are to be found discussions on the development of ceramic or tool forms as ends in themselves. The introductory note impresses upon the reader that statements of interpretation in the text must be taken as only 'in the present state of our knowledge,' and it is one of the most refreshing and reassuring features of British archaeology at the present time that this attitude of open-mindedness is so upheld. It would do less than justice to the book to attempt any summarizing commentary on its chapters, all of which are stimulating and important, but perhaps of special value to all readers will be the first chapter (Archaeological Technique and the Nature of the Evidence) and the last (The Iron Age). The former deals with the aims, nature and history of archaeology and prehistory, and illustrates the ramifications of modern archaeological practice and its calls on the natural sciences. The latter chapter is concerned with the threshold of history and the

inferences of language and literary tradition. The immigration of the Celtic tribes during the latter half of the first millennium B.C. can now be understood against a wide European background of turbulence, and with the arrival of the Belgic tribes, unsettled by the menace of Teutonic and Roman arms in Gaul, the first light on political motives, amplifying the heretofore impersonal material culture, is provided for Britain. It is at this stage, too, that the first man in Britain whose name is known, Cassivellaunus, makes his appearance, and the last dozen pages of the book offer a stirring and vivid sketch of the fortunes and intrigues of the Belgic princes in the face of Roman conquest.

The chapter headings retain the old formularies of 'Mesolithic,' 'Bronze Age,' etc., but it is made clear in the text how these terms have been outgrown, and one may suspect that before long Professor Piggott will help to establish some new and more appropriate general terminology. The limitation in cost of the Home University Library series forbids the use of illustrations, so that it is a pity that no complementary volume of pictures can be recommended to assist readers quite unacquainted with the material. It is to be hoped that at some time Professor Piggott will write such another synthesis of British prehistory supported with maps and illustrations of the kind so long admired in his monographs. T. G. E. POWELL

**Trelleborg.** By Poul Nørlund. Nordiske Fortidsminder, Vol. IV, Part I. Copenhagen, 1948. Pp. 296, 56 plates

**191** The site of Trelleborg lies in West Seeland, three to four kilometres from the coast of the Great Belt. This comprehensive and excellently produced work records the excavations undertaken there by the National Museum of Denmark under Poul Nørlund from 1934 to 1941, and attempts an interpretation of the



very remarkable discoveries then made there. It is in Danish with a very full English summary. The earliest settlement on the site was a Neolithic one of the middle Passage Grave period; it has already been described in English by Dr. Therkel Mathiasen (*Acta Archaeol.*, Vol. XV, p. 77); next came an Early Iron Age settlement here described by C. J. Becker. An unfortified settlement of the tenth century with interesting evidence of pagan sacrificial rites was levelled for the construction, in the decade before A.D. 1000, of a Viking stronghold of the type described in saga and legend as Jomsberg. An inner circular earthwork pierced by four gates at the four cardinal points is the main feature of this Danish Jomsberg: in each of the four sectors were four houses arranged in a square block. An outer ward contained fifteen houses of the same shape and dimensions arranged radially, and a cemetery of 135 inhumation graves. All the houses were of the same boat-shaped type, with carved longitudinal sides and straight-cut gable ends; the whole house split into three rooms. Nørlund compares the houses in shape with the hogback graves from England, and the Kordula shrine—a casket of elk-horn plates and gilded bronze belonging to the treasure of Kammin Cathedral in Pomerania.

Nørlund interprets Trelleborg as a community of warriors quartered there without their families—a training camp or winter quarters for the youth of West Seeland. Most of the graves were of young or youngish men between twenty and forty years old. The site was permanently inhabited, for a ploughshare and many short scythe blades were found. Its construction must have been a very

large undertaking; it has been calculated that 8,000 great trees must have been hauled to the site, and Professor Jessen estimates that to obtain these a good 200 acres of forest must have been cleared of its full-grown trees. The whole undertaking was most accurately planned; the unit of measurement throughout was the Roman foot, and the plan and all the measurements reveal a careful geometrical system and mathematical precision of a high order.

The idea is very convincingly put forward that Trelleborg was a camp constructed under Sweyn Forkbeard in preparation for his great campaign against England, and that the heritage of Roman precision and layout so obvious in its plan may have been acquired by the Danes in England. Nørlund even suggests that in Warham Camp in Norfolk we may have the prototype of the Trelleborg site. Admittedly St. George Gray's excavations in 1914 and 1929 dated Warham to the first to third centuries A.D. (*Ant. Journ.*, Vol. XIII, 1933, p. 399), but these were only trial excavations, and, as Nørlund suggests, the site may have been re-used by the Vikings.

This is much more than an excavation report. It is a fascinating piece of historical and sociological research, clearly set out and admirably argued. Each one of the houses at Trelleborg could have slept 75 men—the crew of a Viking longship—and, when fully occupied, Trelleborg could have accommodated between 1,000 and 1,500 men. It is by building up these telling details that Nørlund and his distinguished team of collaborators paint a most vivid and real picture of this remarkable Viking stronghold.

GLYN E. DANIEL

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Indian Cave Paintings. Cf. MAN, 1935, 85

**192** SIR,—Some years ago I drew attention to fig. 10 in Professor Gordon Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East* and pointed out the inaccuracies in it, particularly the absence in the original of any kind of arrow or harpoon, knowing full well that sooner or later someone would use the supposed presence of such an object as evidence in support of some statement. In spite of my letter this has now, perhaps inevitably, happened: Miss G. R. Levy has reproduced the figure on p. 32 in her book *The Gate of Horn* and made reference on p. 41 to the 'arrows'. I can only repeat that this was one of the things which I checked during my visit to the Singhanpur Cave and that there is not a sign of these arrows.

While we are on the subject of Indian cave paintings, the following may be of interest. In a recent New Delhi publication of the Department of Archaeology of the Ministry of Education, entitled *Archæology in India*, reference is made to a cave with paintings on the Pachmarhi plateau called Bunia Berry. When I first saw this name on p. 78 of the Guide to Pachmarhi, I indulged in all manner of orthographical whimsies, such as Būnia Bheri, to no purpose whatsoever. In 1944 I was to revisit Pachmarhi and for the first time visit the cave of Bunia Berry, when I learned that the finders of this cave (who were searching at the time for the nearby Sambourne Caves), had called it Bania Bury because they thought that it was just the sort of place where a *bania* would bury his gold. I feel that there is a lesson in this somewhere. D. H. GORDON  
Hingham, Norwich

### The Coming of Iron to the Bantu. Cf. MAN, 1950, 16

**193** SIR,—Mr. G. A. Wainwright is reported to have said, in the course of his misguided attempts to extract history from myth, that the epithet 'white' was applied in the Southern Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to the Khartoumers and Egyptian troops. I do not know to what tribe or tribes Mr. Wainwright refers, and can speak only for the Lotuko of thirty-odd years ago. They considered me, though I was not particularly rubicund, to be a red man. RAGLAN

#### Note

But do not many primitive peoples reserve their word for 'white' for people of a lighter shade than themselves in what they conceive to be the same, or a related, colour range, while Europeans are considered to be of a quite different colour, such as pink? In other

words, 'white' is normally used in a relative, not in an absolute, sense, even in Europe—where pure white is very seldom to be seen; our 'white' loaf is in fact light brown.—ED.

### Tablet Weaving in the Near East

**194** SIR,—In view of the interest attaching to the braid-weaving process known as tablet weaving (*brettchenweberei*) as a specialized technique in the ancient world, it is worth while putting on record some modern examples from the Near East obtained in 1943. All were braids intended for, or made up as, headstalls and harness for camels or mules.

1. *Cairo*. Four specimens of braids were obtained from an old harness-maker in the Old City in June, 1943. He said that the tablet-weaving process was, so far as he knew, obsolete among harness-makers in Cairo, and his samples were very old stock. Of these braids one certainly and the rest probably were made by tablet weaving.

(a) Black, white, red and buff threads, woven on 34 four-holed tablets, turned in one direction until half-woven and then reversed to untwist warp.

(b) Red, blue and white threads. The actual weaving pattern is akin to twill, and it has no twist characteristic of tablet weaving. But it is almost certainly woven on 44 two-holed tablets with five more on each side for the border, one thread of each colour in each tablet, red and blue for the centre and white and blue for the border. The first 18 tablets of pattern with red threads uppermost for the first shed, 8 with blue uppermost, 18 red. Alternate tablets are turned for second shed, the remainder turned for third shed so that 18 blue, 8 red, 18 blue are on top, alternate tablets for fourth shed, the fifth as first, etc. The five edge tablets move with the outside pattern tablet. Each tablet moves alternately backwards and forwards.

(c) Red, black and white.

(d) Red, blue, black and white. These have almost identical patterns and colouring, and their method of manufacture is not clear. But it is possible that they could have been made by a tablet-weaving process.

2. *Jerusalem*. Two specimens of braids were obtained from the bazaar in June, 1943, of modern manufacture.

(a) White, red and black threads, woven on 10 four-holed tablets, turned in the same direction all along.

(b) Red, grey and white threads. Identical weaving to Cairo (c) and (d), and presumably woven by the same technique.



3. *Sissu, Lahoul*. Broken headstall obtained from muleteer at this village in the Chandra valley, 120 miles south of Leh, in September, 1943. He said that the tablet weaving of braids for harness was done by the men, as opposed to ordinary textiles woven by the women. Fawn and brown, woven on 13 four-holed tablets. Four quarter-turns in one direction and four in the other to make the diamond pattern. Of the tablet-woven braids, all the patterns except Cairo (b) depend on varying the side from which the tablets are threaded, which controls the direction in which the warp threads twist.

STUART PIGGOTT  
AUDREY S. HENSHALL

University of Edinburgh

### Anthropological Instruments

**195** SIR.—The increasing revival of interest in the quantitative or biometric, as contrasted with the 'trained-eye,' approach to problems of physical anthropology raises in acute form the question of the present high cost of laboratory and field apparatus. As a result of the war, almost all the firms in this country from which instruments used to be obtained no longer make them; and the prices of those supplied from abroad are nowadays often quite prohibitive, having for the most part been trebled, and in some cases even quadrupled, since 1939.

Efforts have been made to induce more than one British concern to remedy the deficit by undertaking the manufacture of the simpler types of caliper, etc., but, with the exceptions noted later, it would appear that they cannot both be turned out up to standard and sold at a reasonable figure. I wish therefore to invite the attention of anthropologists to the fact that, after a period of coal and nickel shortage, Abawerk (Alig und Baumgärtel) of Müllerstr. 27-31, Aschaffenburg, Bavaria, have resumed production of much of their moderately priced anthropological equipment.

I give, first, the Abawerk catalogue number; secondly and *au large*, the English (and occasionally also the German) designation of each item; thirdly, the page, preceded by the initial 'M.,' in Volumes I and II of the second edition (1928) of Martin's *Lehrbuch* in which it is described; and, finally, its price in sterling currency, f.o.b. Hamburg or Bremen, as at the end of June, 1950. Abawerk state that orders can normally be filled within four to eight weeks of receipt.

No. 101, Martin-type anthropometer, M.128, and No. 102, straight crossbars for same, M.131, £6 9s. 6d.; No. 103, curved crossbars for same, M.131, 19s. 8d.; No. 108, spreading caliper (*Tasterzirkel*), M.124, £3 11s. 10d.; No. 110, sliding caliper (*Gleit-zirkel*), M.127, £1 11s. 3d.; No. 117, auricular height needle for use with anthropometer, M.132, £1 8s. 8d.; No. 118, Mollison's attachable goniometer (*Ansteckgoniometer*), M.134, £4 5s. 9d.; No. 125, Weinert's endocranial caliper (*Schädel-Innenmesszirkel*), M.599, £3 11s. 5d.; No. 127, stand for anthropometer, M.129, 17s. 10d.; No. 130, vice to support skulls for use with different types of craniophore (*Schädelzange*), M.602, £4 5s. 9d.; No. 131, stand to mount skulls in the standard horizontal plane for exhibition purposes (*Schädelstativ für Sammlungszwecke*), M.37, 17s. 10d.; No. 132, cubic craniophore, M.601, £9 7s. 7d.; —, base for cubic craniophore, M.601, 16s. 1d.; No. 134, Mollison-type craniophore, M.604, £5 3s. 7d.; No. 136, Martin's craniophore with stand (*Röhrenkraniophor*), M.593, £2 13s. 7d.; No. 138, 'stative' goniometer, M.593, £20 1s. 11d.; No. 140, perigraph, M.52, £12 5s. 0d.; No. 141, horizontal needle (*Paralleltreiszer*), M.603, 25 cm. long, £1 8s. 0d., 40 cm. long, £1 13s. 0d.; No. 142, parallelograph, M.996, £9 0s. 0d.; No. 143, osteophore (*Knochenstativ*), M.997, £1 8s. 8d.; No. 145, diptograph, M.50, £36 16s. 0d.; No. 154, co-ordinate caliper, M.591, £7 13s. 5d.

The London Instrument Company, Ltd., Newnham Mill, Cambridge, sell Mollison's cylinders for the direct measurement of cranial capacity, with mustard seed, by Breiteringer's technique (see Tildesley and Datta-Majumder, *Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, n.s., Vol. 2, 1943), plus a wooden 'pusher,' for £5; and a Hepburn-type osteometric board can be bought for £3 3s. from Messrs. Andrew H. Baird, 33-39 Lothian Street, Edinburgh. The last is a well tried device, and several of the Abawerk instruments mentioned above, purchased in 1946 and used since then in the Duckworth Laboratory, have proved very satisfactory.

Cambridge

J. C. TREVOR

### An Up-to-date Shaman (Illustrated)

**196** SIR.—The Mai Sengoi are a group of settled Lowland Senoi (Sakai) living in a permanent village in the lower Perak region of Malaya. They own their own rubber plantations and employ their own Chinese tappers. The headman of this group, Bagas, is a noted shaman (*wayang* in the local version of the Central Senoi language) whose services are in demand from local Malays, Indians and Chinese as well as aborigines of his own group. In ceremonies connected with the removal of sickness he uses the conventional spirit boat (fig. 1), but recently a modern



FIG. 1

touch has been added by the parallel employment of a model aeroplane (fig. 2). This model, which is an obvious copy of a Sunderland aircraft, a type used by the Royal Air Force in this area, was constructed to influence the local police authorities to release a man of this group who had been detained under the emergency regulations. It was equipped with a sub-machine gun to 'shoot' any evil spirits attempting to intercept it in its passage. It appears



FIG. 2

that this was a successful innovation, as the man was almost immediately released.

This is an interesting example of the impact of modern ideas on Malayan aboriginal traditional culture. Another group, the Orang Kanaq in Johore, are now making small play-carts for their children with double back wheels, in imitation of the heavy timber lorries used in their area, and I have also seen model motor boats instead of the normal dugouts made by other groups.

Adviser on Aborigines,  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaya

P. D. R. WILLIAMS-HUNT









(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

# TANGKHUL NAGA POTTERY-MAKING

*Photographs by Mrs. F. N. Betts*



# TANGKHUL NAGA POTTERY-MAKING★

by

MRS. F. N. BETTS

**197** The two Tangkhul Naga villages of Nungbi Khulen and Nungbi Khunao lie at an altitude of 5,800 feet on a ridge 10 miles to the north-east of Ukhrul, in what was until 1948 the State of Manipur. Their situation near the only suitable beds of clay gives them a monopoly of pottery-making in the Tangkhul Naga area, and the method employed is interesting.

The demonstration here described and illustrated took place in 1939. The scene was the village street of Nungbi Khunao, but normally the potters work in the open spaces behind or between the houses or in any other convenient place. Not all the villagers are potters and those who are appear more prosperous than most of their fellows. Both the men engaged in the demonstration wore large wine-red Tangkhul cloths of a type beyond the means of ordinary villagers and therefore worn almost exclusively by headmen and the well-to-do, while one of the two owned what was still more plainly a luxury product, a white wool sweater imported from the market at Imphal 50 miles away. The tools the potters used were simple: a wooden rice pestle, a sharp-edged sliver of bamboo, a wooden trough for mixing, and two small wooden paddles or beaters.

A few pieces of friable grey rock were first pounded in the trough with the rice pestle and reduced to powder (Plate 1a). Dried and powdered clay was then mixed with the grit and the whole was moistened with water and mixed to the right consistency with a wooden paddle. The mixture was then pounded with the pestle until smooth.

The potter now divided the clay into two pieces of unequal size. The smaller, which was to form the base of the pot, he made into a round, flat cake five inches across and set aside on a board on a wooden pedestal. The larger was shaped into a strip 18 inches long, four inches wide and rather more than an inch thick and laid on a sloping plank (b). It was next beaten out with the hand until its thickness was reduced to half an inch, and then the potter trimmed the edges with the long, sharp sliver of bamboo.

Now came the most interesting step. The potter took a section of giant bamboo (an ordinary household water vessel was used), laid it on the strip of clay and rolled the strip up round it (c). He then transferred both clay and bamboo together to the base, set them upright on it and gently shook the clay strip loose from the bamboo without losing the circular shape which the bamboo had given it (d). When the strip was satisfactorily adjusted to the base he removed the bamboo, joined the ends of the strip together and joined the lower edge of the strip to the base.

★ With Plate I

The potter now began to move slowly backwards round the pedestal, beating on the outside of the pot with a wooden paddle and pressing against this from the inside with his left hand so as to thin and shape the walls (e). This took 20 minutes and was the longest single stage in the process. When the pot had assumed its final shape he attached two rolls of clay as handles, trimmed them and the rim with the bamboo sliver and, with the same instrument, scraped smooth the outside of the pot. Finally he cut the pot from the board (f) and it was ready for drying and firing. The preparation of this handled pot took 50 minutes.

Pots are first sun-dried for some days, the period depending on the weather, and are then stacked in heaps on the village outskirts, covered with brushwood, and fired. Pottery-making is carried on during the winter in the relatively long slack period allowed by the Tangkhul system of cultivation on irrigated terraces, and in those months the columns of smoke which arise from the two Nungbi villages as the firing of pots proceeds can be seen for many miles round. The finished ware is black, somewhat coarse, gritty in texture, and strong. No glaze is applied and it is not decorated in any way. It is used for cooking, and for the preparation and storage of fermented rice and rice beer. It is traded to and used in all the neighbouring Tangkhul villages within convenient range, only those settlements which lie in the foothills obtaining their pots from Manipuri sources in the Imphal plain.

Manipuri pottery-making is itself perhaps worth a brief mention in this connexion. It is carried on during the dry winter months at various places in the Manipur valley, notably in the south-east corner, in the vicinity of Shuganu, where there are considerable beds of clay. Among the Tangkhuls the potters are all men, but among the Manipuris both men and women carry out the work. The process of manufacture is chiefly notable for the curious method of shaping the pot. After the clay has been kneaded and prepared, the potter sits down on the ground and balances a wooden board some 2 feet square on his knee. He then throws the lump of prepared clay on to the middle of the board and turns the latter round and round with his left hand while shaping the clay with his right. The turning movement is not, however, continuous; it is interrupted from time to time while the potter uses both hands on the pot. After the pot has been formed it is removed from the board for the final stages, when it is scraped smooth and trimmed with bamboo tools, much as in the Tangkhul method. The finished ware is largely sent for sale to the principal market at Imphal.



## SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: PAST AND PRESENT\*

## THE MARETT LECTURE, 1950

by

PROFESSOR E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

*President of the Royal Anthropological Institute*

198 Mr. Rector, Fellows and Scholars, I have been greatly honoured by your invitation to deliver this lecture in commemoration of Rector Marett, a great teacher of social anthropology and my friend and counsellor for over twenty years. I am touched also, Mr. Rector, at delivering it in this familiar hall.

I have chosen to discuss a few very broad questions—questions of method. The considerable advances made in social anthropology during the last thirty years and the creation of new departments in several universities would seem to require some reflection on what the subject is, and which direction it is taking, or ought to take, for anthropology has now ceased to be an amateur pursuit and has become a profession. There is a division of opinion on these matters among anthropologists themselves, broadly between those who regard the subject as a natural science and those who, like myself, regard it as one of the humanities, and this division, which reflects quite different sentiments and values, is apparent whenever there arises a discussion about the methods and aims of the discipline. It is perhaps at its sharpest when the relations between anthropology and history are being discussed, and since consideration of this difficult question brings out the issues most clearly, I shall devote a large part of my lecture to it. To perceive how these issues have come about it is necessary to cast our eyes back over the period of the genesis and early development of the subject.

*Eighteenth-Century Origins*

A subject of scholarship can hardly be said to have autonomy before it is taught in the universities. In that sense social anthropology is a very new subject. In another sense it may be said to have begun with the earliest speculations of mankind, for everywhere and at all times men have propounded theories about the nature of human society. In this sense there is no definite point at which social anthropology can be said to have begun. Nevertheless, there is a point beyond which it is hardly profitable to trace back its development. This nascent period of our subject was the middle and late eighteenth century. It is a child of the Enlightenment and bears throughout its history and today many of the characteristic features of its ancestry.

In France its lineage runs from Montesquieu and such writers as D'Alembert, Condorcet, Turgot, and in general

the Encyclopædists, to Saint Simon, who was the first to propose clearly a science of society, and to his one-time disciple Comte, who named the science sociology. This stream of French philosophical rationalism was later, through the writings of Durkheim and his students and Lévy-Bruhl, who were in the direct line of Saint-Simonian tradition, to colour English anthropology strongly.

Our forebears were the Scottish moral philosophers, whose writings were typical of the eighteenth century: David Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, Frances Hutcheson, Dugald Stewart, Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo. These writers took their inspiration from Bacon, Newton and Locke, though they were also much influenced by Descartes. They insisted that the study of societies, which they regarded as natural systems or organisms, must be empirical, and that by the use of the inductive method it would be possible to explain them in terms of general principles or laws in the same way as physical phenomena had been explained by the physicists. It must also be normative. Natural law is derived from a study of human nature, which is in all societies and at all times the same. These writers also believed in limitless progress and in laws of progress. Man, being everywhere alike, must advance along certain lines through set stages of development, and these stages can be hypothetically reconstructed by what Dugald Stewart called conjectural history, and what later became known as the comparative method. Here we have all the ingredients of anthropological theory in the nineteenth century and even at the present day.

The writers I have mentioned, both in France and England, were of course in the sense of their time philosophers and so regarded themselves. In spite of all their talk about empiricism they relied more on introspection and *a priori* reasoning than on observation of actual societies. For the most part they used facts to illustrate or corroborate theories reached by speculation. It was not till the middle of the nineteenth century that systematic studies of social institutions were conducted with some attempt at scientific rigour. In the decade between 1861 and 1871 there appeared books which we regard as our early classics: Maine's *Ancient Law* (1861), Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1861), Fustel de Coulanges' *La Cité antique* (1864), McLennan's *Primitive Marriage* (1865), Tylor's *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (1865), and Morgan's *The Systems of Consanguinity* (1871). Not all these books were concerned primarily with primitive societies, though those that were least concerned with them, like *Ancient Law*, were dealing with comparable institutions at early periods in the development of historical societies. It was McLennan and Tylor in this country, and Morgan in America, who first treated

\* Delivered in Exeter College Hall, Oxford, 3 June, 1950. The publication of this lecture in full has been greatly assisted by the generous action of the Lecturer in devoting the lecture fee to this purpose. It will no doubt be of great interest to all students of anthropological theory, and the Hon. Editor expresses the hope that it will give rise to discussion in the correspondence columns of MAN.



primitive societies as a subject which might in itself engage the attention of serious scholars.

### *Nineteenth-Century Anthropology*

The authors of this decade, like those of the generation before them, were anxious to rid the study of social institutions of mere speculation. They, also, thought that they could do this by being strictly empirical and by rigorous use of the comparative historical method. Using this method they, and those who followed them, wrote many large volumes purporting to show the origin and development of social institutions: the development of monogamous marriage from promiscuity, of property from communism, of contract from status, of industry from nomadism, of positive science from theology, of monotheism from animism. Sometimes, especially when treating religion, explanations were sought in terms of psychological origins as well as in terms of historical origins.

These Victorian anthropologists were men of outstanding ability, wide learning and obvious integrity. If they over-emphasized resemblances in custom and belief and paid insufficient attention to diversities, they were investigating a real and not an imaginary problem when they attempted to account for remarkable similarities in societies widely separated in space and time; and much of permanent value has come out of their researches. Nevertheless, it is difficult to read their theoretical constructions today without irritation, and at times we feel embarrassed at what seems complacency. We see now that though their use of the comparative method allowed them to separate the general from the particular, and so to classify social phenomena, the explanations of these phenomena which they put forward amounted to little more than hypothetical scales of progress, at one end of which were placed forms of institutions or beliefs as they were in nineteenth-century Europe and America, while at the other end were placed their antitheses. An order of stages was then worked out to show what logically might have been the history of development from one end of the scale to the other. All that remained to be done was to hunt through ethnological literature for examples to illustrate each of these stages. It is evident that such reconstructions not only imply moral judgments but must always be conjectural; and that in any case an institution is not to be understood, far less explained, in terms of its origins, whether these are conceived of as beginnings, causes or merely, in a logical sense, its simplest forms. For all their insistence on empiricism in the study of social institutions the nineteenth-century anthropologists were hardly less dialectical, speculative and dogmatic than the moral philosophers of the preceding century, though they at least felt that they had to support their constructions with a wealth of factual evidence, a need scarcely felt by the moral philosophers, so that a very great amount of original literary research was undertaken and vast repositories of ethnological detail were stocked and systematically arranged, as, to mention the largest of these storehouses, in *The Golden Bough*.

It is not surprising that the anthropologists of the last century wrote what they regarded as history, for all contemporaneous learning was radically historical, and at a time when history in England was still a literary art. The genetic approach, which had borne impressive fruits in philology, was, as Lord Acton has emphasized, apparent in law, economics, science, theology and philosophy. There was everywhere a passionate endeavour to discover the origins of everything—the origin of species, the origin of religion, the origin of law and so on—an endeavour always to explain the nearer by the farther which, in reference to history proper, Marc Bloch calls '*la hantise des origines*.'

In any case, I do not think that the real cause of confusion was, as is generally supposed, that the nineteenth-century anthropologists believed in progress and sought a method by which they might reconstruct how it had come about, for they were well aware that their schemata were hypotheses which could not be finally or fully verified. The cause of confusion in most of their writings is rather to be looked for in the assumption they had inherited from the Enlightenment that societies are natural systems or organisms which have a necessary course of development that can be reduced to general principles or laws. Logical consistencies were in consequence presented as real and necessary connexions and typological classifications as both historical and inevitable courses of development. It will readily be seen how a combination of the notion of scientific law and that of progress leads in anthropology, as in the philosophy of history, to procrustean stages, the presumed inevitability of which gives them a normative character.

### *The Twentieth Century*

The reaction against the attempt to explain social institutions in terms of parallel, seen ideally as unilinear, development came at the end of the century; and though this so-called evolutionary anthropology was recast and re-presented in the writings of Westermarck and Hobbhouse it had finally lost its appeal. It had in any case ceased to stimulate research, because once the stages of human development had been marked out further investigation on these lines offered nothing more exciting than attachment of labels written by dead hands. Some anthropologists, and in varying degrees, now turned for inspiration to psychology, which at the time seemed to provide satisfactory solutions of many of their problems without recourse to hypothetical history. This has proved to be, then and since, an attempt to build a house on shifting sands. If I say no more in this lecture about the relation between psychology and anthropology it is not because I do not consider it important, but because it would require more time than I can spare, and also more knowledge of psychology than I possess, to treat adequately.

Apart from the criticism of evolutionary theory implied in the ignoring of it by those, including Rector Marett, who sought psychological explanations of customs and beliefs, it was attacked from two directions, the diffusionist and the functionalist. Diffusionist criticism was based on the very obvious fact that culture is often borrowed and



does not emerge by spontaneous growth due to certain common social potentialities and common human nature. To suppose otherwise and to discuss social change without reference to events is to lapse into Cartesian scholasticism. This approach had, unfortunately, little lasting influence in England, partly, no doubt, on account of its uncritical use by Elliot Smith, Perry and Rivers. The other form of attack, the functionalist, has been far more influential, as it has been far more radical. It condemned equally evolutionary anthropology and diffusionist anthropology, not merely on the grounds that their historical reconstructions were unverifiable, but also, and simply, because both were historical approaches, for in the view of writers of this persuasion the history of a society is irrelevant to a study of it as a natural system.

The same kind of development was taking place at the same time in other fields of learning. There were functional biology, functional psychology, functional law, functional economics and so forth. The point of view was the more readily accepted by many social anthropologists because anthropologists generally study societies the history of which cannot be known. Their ready acceptance was also partly due to the influence from across the Channel of the philosophical rationalism of Durkheim and his school. This influence has had, on the whole, not only a profound but a beneficial effect on English anthropology. It injected a tradition which was concerned with broad general questions into the more piecemeal empirical English tradition, exemplified by the way in which theoretical writers like Tylor and Frazer used their material and by both the many firsthand accounts of primitive peoples written by travellers, missionaries and administrators and the early social surveys in this country. On the other hand, if students are not firmly anchored by a heavy weight of ethnographic fact, they are easily led by it into airy discussions about words, into arid classifications, and into either pretentiousness or total scepticism.

### *The Functional Theory*

The functional or organismic theory of society which reigns in social anthropology in England today is not new. We have seen that it was held in their several ways by the early and mid-Victorian anthropologists and by the moral philosophers before them, and it has, of course, a very much longer pedigree in political philosophy. In its modern and more mechanistic form it was set forth at great length by Durkheim and, with special reference to social evolution, by Herbert Spencer. In yet more recent times it has been most clearly and consistently stated by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. Human societies are natural systems in which all the parts are interdependent, each serving in a complex of necessary relations to maintain the whole. The aim of social anthropology is to reduce all social life to laws or general statements about the nature of society which allow prediction. What is new in this restatement of the theory is the insistence that a society can be understood satisfactorily without reference to its past. Almost without exception the eighteenth-century moral philosophers presented their

conception of social systems and sociological laws in the form of history in the grand style—a natural history of human societies; and, as we have seen, the enduring passion of their Victorian successors was seeking for origins from which every institution has developed through the working of laws of progress. The modern version of a naturalistic study of society, even if lip-service is sometimes paid to the possibility of a scientific study of social change, claims that for an understanding of the functioning of a society there is no need for the student of it to know anything about its history, any more than there is need for a physiologist to know the history of an organism to understand it. Both are natural systems and can be described in terms of natural law without recourse to history.

The functional orientation, by its insistence on the inter-relatedness of things, has been largely responsible for the comprehensive and detailed professional field studies of modern anthropology, such as were entirely unknown to the anthropologists of the nineteenth-century, who were content to let laymen collect the facts on which they based their theories. It is also largely due to it that the anthropologist of today sees more clearly than his predecessors that an understanding of human behaviour can only be reached by viewing it in its full social setting. All social anthropologists now accept that the entire activities of primitive societies must be systematically studied in the field, and all have the same holistic approach when they come to set down and interpret their observations.

But a theory may have heuristic value without being sound, and there are many objections to the functional theory. It is no more than an assumption that human societies are systems of the kind they are alleged to be. Indeed in the case of Malinowski the functional theory, in spite of the wide claims he made for it, was little more than a literary device. The theory assumes, moreover, that in the given circumstances no part of social life can be other than what it is and that every custom has social value, thus adding to a naive determinism a crude teleology and pragmatism. It is easy to define the aim of social anthropology to be the establishment of sociological laws, but nothing even remotely resembling a law of the natural sciences has yet been adduced. What general statements have been made are for the most part speculative, and are in any case too general to be of value. Often they are little more than guesses on a common-sense or *post factum* level, and they sometimes degenerate into mere tautologies or even platitudes. Also, it is difficult to reconcile the assertion that a society has come to be what it is by a succession of unique events with the claim that what it is can be comprehensively stated in terms of natural law. In its extreme form functional determinism leads to absolute relativism and makes nonsense not only of the theory itself but of all thought.

If for these and other reasons I cannot accept, without many qualifications, the functional theory dominant in English anthropology today, I do not assert, as you will see, that societies are unintelligible or that they are not in some sense systems. What I am objecting to is what appears to me to be still the same doctrinaire philosophy of the Enlightenment and of the stage-making anthropologists of



the nineteenth century, with only the concept of evolution substituted for that of progress. Its constructions are still posited dialectically and imposed on the facts. I attribute this to anthropologists always having tried to model themselves on the natural sciences instead of on the historical sciences, and it is to this important issue that I now turn. I must apologize to historians if, in considering it, what I say may seem obvious to them. My observations would be hotly disputed by most of my anthropological colleagues in England.

### *Anthropology and History*

In discussing the relations between history and social anthropology it is necessary, if the discussion is to be profitable, to perceive that several quite different questions are being asked. The first is whether a knowledge of how a particular social system has come to be what it is helps one to understand its present constitution. We must here distinguish between history in two different senses, though in a literate society it is not so easy to maintain the distinction as when speaking of non-literate societies. In the first sense history is part of the conscious tradition of a people and is operative in their social life. It is the collective representation of events as distinct from events themselves. This is what the social anthropologist calls myth. The functionalist anthropologists regard history in this sense, usually a mixture of fact and fancy, as highly relevant to a study of the culture of which it forms part.

On the other hand they have totally rejected the reconstruction from circumstantial evidences of the history of primitive peoples for whose past documents and monuments are totally, or almost totally, lacking. A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available. The fact that nineteenth-century anthropologists were uncritical in their reconstructions ought not to lead to the conclusion that all effort expended in this direction is waste of time.

But with the bath water of presumptive history the functionalists have also thrown out the baby of valid history. They say, Malinowski the most vociferously, that even when the history of a society is recorded it is irrelevant to a functional study of it. I find this point of view unacceptable. The claim that one can understand the functioning of institutions at a certain point of time without knowing how they have come to be what they are, or what they were later to become, as well as a person who, in addition to having studied their constitution at that point of time, has also studied their past and future is to me an absurdity. Moreover, so it seems to me, neglect of the history of institutions prevents the functionalist anthropologist not only from studying diachronic problems but also from testing the very functional constructions to which he attaches most importance, for it is precisely history which provides him with an experimental situation.

The problem here raised is becoming a pressing one because anthropologists are now studying communities

which, if still fairly simple in structure, are enclosed in, and form part of, great historical societies, such as Irish and Indian rural communities, Bedouin Arab tribes, or ethnic minorities in America and other parts of the world. They can no longer ignore history, making a virtue out of necessity, but must explicitly reject it or admit its relevance. As anthropologists turn their attention more to complex civilized communities the issue will become more acute, and the direction of theoretical development in the subject will largely depend on its outcome.

A second question is of a different kind. We ask now, not whether in studying a particular society its history forms an integral part of the study, but whether in making comparative sociological studies, for example of political or religious institutions, we ought to include in them societies as presented to us by historians. In spite of their claim that social anthropology aims at being a natural history of human societies, that is, of all human societies, functionalist anthropologists, at any rate in England, have, in their general distaste for historical method, almost completely ignored historical writings. They have thereby denied themselves access in their comparative studies to the valuable material provided by historical societies structurally comparable to many of the contemporaneous barbarous societies which they regard as being within their province.

A third, and to me the most important, question is a methodological one: whether social anthropology, for all its present disregard of history, is not itself a kind of historiography. To answer this question we have first to observe what the anthropologist does. He goes to live for some months or years among a primitive people. He lives among them as intimately as he can, and he learns to speak their language, to think in their concepts and to feel in their values. He then lives the experiences over again critically and interpretatively in the conceptual categories and values of his own culture and in terms of the general body of knowledge of his discipline. In other words, he translates from one culture into another.

At this level social anthropology remains a literary and impressionistic art. But even in a single ethnographic study the anthropologist seeks to do more than understand the thought and values of a primitive people and translate them into his own culture. He seeks also to discover the structural order of the society, the patterns which, once established, enable him to see it as a whole, as a set of interrelated abstractions. Then the society is not only culturally intelligible, as it is, at the level of consciousness and action, for one of its members or for the foreigner who has learnt its mores and participates in its life, but also becomes sociologically intelligible.

The historian, or at any rate the social historian, and perhaps the economic historian in particular, will, I think, know what I mean by sociologically intelligible. After all, English society in the eleventh century was understood by Vinogradoff in quite a different way from the way it would have been understood by a Norman or Anglo-Saxon or by a foreigner who had learnt the native languages and was living the life of the natives. Similarly, the social anthropologist discovers in a native society what no native can



explain to him and what no layman, however conversant with the culture, can perceive—its basic structure. This structure cannot be seen. It is a set of abstractions, each of which, though derived, it is true, from analysis of observed behaviour, is fundamentally an imaginative construct of the anthropologist himself. By relating these abstractions to one another logically so that they present a pattern he can see the society in its essentials and as a single whole.

What I am trying to say can perhaps be best illustrated by the example of language. A native understands his own language and it can be learnt by a stranger. But certainly neither the native himself nor the stranger can tell you what are its phonological and grammatical systems. These can only be discovered by a trained linguist. By analysis he can reduce the complexity of a language to certain abstractions and show how these abstractions can be interrelated in a logical system or pattern. This is what the social anthropologist also tries to do. He tries to disclose the structural patterns of a society. Having isolated these patterns in one society he compares them with patterns in other societies. The study of each new society enlarges his knowledge of the range of basic social structures and enables him better to construct a typology of forms, and to determine their essential features and the reasons for their variations.

I have tried to show that the work of the social anthropologist is in three main phases or, otherwise expressed, at three levels of abstraction. First he seeks to understand the significant overt features of a culture and to translate them into terms of his own culture. This is precisely what the historian does. There is no fundamental difference here in aim or method between the two disciplines, and both are equally selective in their use of material. The similarity between them has been obscured by the fact that the social anthropologist makes a direct study of social life while the historian makes an indirect study of it through documents and other surviving evidences. This is a technical, not a methodological, difference. The historicity of anthropology has also been obscured by its pre-occupation with primitive societies which lack recorded history. But this again is not a methodological difference. I agree with Professor Kroeber that the fundamental characteristic of the historical method is not chronological relation of events but descriptive integration of them; and this characteristic historiography shares with social anthropology. What social anthropologists have in fact chiefly been doing is to write cross-sections of history, integrative descriptive accounts of primitive peoples at a moment of time which are in other respects like the accounts written by historians about peoples over a period of time, for the historian does not just record sequences of events but seeks to establish connexions between them. Nor does the anthropologist's determination to view every institution as a functioning part of a whole society make a methodological difference. Any good modern historian aims—if I may be allowed to judge the matter—at the same kind of synthesis.

In my view, therefore, the fact that the anthropologist's problems are generally synchronic while the historian's problems are generally diachronic is a difference of emphasis in the rather peculiar conditions prevailing and not a real

divergence of interest. When the historian fixes his attention exclusively on a particular culture at a particular and limited period of history he writes what we would call an ethnographic monograph (Burckhardt's *Culture of the Renaissance* is a striking example). When, on the other hand, a social anthropologist writes about a society developing in time he writes a history book, different, it is true, from the ordinary narrative and political history but in all essentials the same as social history. In the absence of another, I must cite my own book *The Samusi of Cyrenaica* as an example.

In the second phase of his work the social anthropologist goes a step farther and seeks by analysis to disclose the latent underlying form of a society or culture. In doing so, he goes farther than the more timorous and conservative historians, but many historians do the same. I am not thinking of philosophers of history like Vico, Hegel, Marx, Spengler and Toynbee, not of those who can be exclusively particularized as social historians or writers of the *Kulturgeschichte* school like Max Weber, Tawney, and Sombart or Adam Smith, Savigny and Buckle, but of historians in the stricter and more orthodox sense like Fustel de Coulanges, Vinogradoff, Pirenne, Maitland, or Professor Powicke. It is perhaps worth noting that those historical writings which we anthropologists regard as examples of sociological method generally deal with early periods of history, where the societies described are more like primitive societies than the complex societies of later periods of history, and where the historical documents are not too vast to be grasped and assimilated by a single mind; so that the total culture can be studied as a whole and contained in a single mind, as primitive cultures can be studied and contained. When we read the works of these historians we feel that we and they are studying the same things in the same way and are reaching out for the same kind of understanding of them.

In the third phase of his work the anthropologist compares the social structures his analysis has revealed in a wide range of societies. When a historian attempts a similar study in his own field he is dubbed a philosopher, but it is not, I think, true to say, as it is often said, that history is a study of the particular and social anthropology of the general. In some historical writers comparison and classification are quite explicit; always they are implicit, for history cannot be written except against a standard of some kind, by comparison with the culture of a different time or people, if only with the writer's own.

I conclude therefore, following Professor Kroeber, that while there are, of course, many differences between social anthropology and historiography they are differences of technique, of emphasis and of perspective, and not differences of method and aim. I believe also that a clearer understanding that this is so will lead to a closer connexion between historical and anthropological studies than is at present provided by their meeting points in ethnology and prehistoric archaeology, and that this will be greatly to the benefit of both disciplines. Historians can supply social anthropologists with invaluable material, sifted and vouched for by critical techniques of testing and interpretation.



Social anthropologists can provide the historian of the future with some of his best records, based on careful and detailed observations, and they can shed on history, by their discovery of latent structural forms, the light of universals. The value of each discipline to the other will, I believe, be recognized when anthropologists begin to devote themselves more to historical scholarship and show how knowledge of anthropology often illuminates historical problems.

*Social Anthropology as one of the Humanities*

The thesis I have put before you, that social anthropology is a kind of historiography, and therefore ultimately of philosophy or art, implies that it studies societies as moral systems and not as natural systems, that it is interested in design rather than in process, and that it therefore seeks patterns and not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains. These are conceptual, and not merely verbal, differences. The concepts of natural system and natural law, modelled on the constructs of the natural sciences, have dominated anthropology from its beginnings, and as we look back over the course of its growth I think we can see that they have been responsible for a false scholasticism which has led to one rigid and ambitious formulation after another. Regarded as a special kind of historiography, that is as one of the humanities, social anthropology is released from these essentially philosophical dogmas and given the opportunity, though it may seem paradoxical to say so, to be really empirical and, in the true sense of the word, scientific. This, I presume, is what Maitland had in mind when he said that 'by and by anthropology will have the choice between becoming history or nothing.'

I have found, both in England and America, that students are often perturbed at these implications. There is no need for them to be, for it does not follow from regarding social anthropology as a special kind of historiography rather than as a special kind of natural science that its researches and theory are any the less systematic. When therefore I am asked how I think that social anthropology should proceed in the future I reply that it must proceed along much the same lines as do social history or the history of institutions, as distinct from purely narrative and political history. For example, the social historian seeking to understand feudal institutions would first study them in one country of Europe and get to know all he can about them there. He would then study them in other European societies to discover which features were common to European civilization at that time and which were local variations, and he would try to see each particular form as a variation of a general pattern and to account for the variations. He would not seek for laws but for significant patterns.

What more do we do, can we do or should we want to do in social anthropology than this? We study witchcraft or a kinship system in a particular primitive society. If we want to know more about these social phenomena we can study them in a second society, and then in a third society, and so on, each study reaching, as our knowledge increases and new problems emerge, a deeper level of investigation and teaching us the essential characteristics of the thing we

are inquiring into, so that particular studies are given a new meaning and perspective. This will always happen if one necessary condition is observed: that the conclusions of each study are clearly formulated in such a way that they not only test the conclusions reached by earlier studies but advance new hypotheses which can be broken down into fieldwork problems.

However, the uneasiness I have noted is not, I think, on this score, because it must be evident to any student who has given thought to the matter that those who have most strongly urged that social anthropology should model itself on the natural sciences have done neither better research than those who take the opposite view nor a different kind of research. It is rather due to the feeling that any discipline that does not aim at formulating laws and hence predicting and planning is not worth the labour of a lifetime. This normative element in anthropology is, as we have seen, like the concepts of natural law and progress from which it derives, part of its philosophical heritage. In recent times the natural-science approach has constantly stressed the application of its findings to affairs, the emphasis in England being on colonial problems and in America on political and industrial problems. Its more cautious advocates have held that there can only be applied anthropology when the science is much more advanced than it is today, but the less cautious have made far-reaching claims for the immediate application of anthropological knowledge in social planning; though, whether more or less cautious, both have justified anthropology by appeal to utility. Needless to say, I do not share their enthusiasm and regard the attitude that gives rise to it as naïve. A full discussion of it would take too long, but I cannot resist the observation that, as the history of anthropology shows, positivism leads very easily to a misguided ethics, anæmic scientific humanism or—Saint Simon and Comte are cases in point—*ersatz* religion.

I conclude by summarizing very briefly the argument I have tried to develop in this lecture and by stating what I believe is likely to be the direction taken by social anthropology in the future. Social anthropologists, dominated consciously or unconsciously, from the beginnings of their subject, by positivist philosophy, have aimed, explicitly or implicitly, and for the most part still aim—for this is what it comes to—at proving that man is an automaton and at discovering the sociological laws in terms of which his actions, ideas and beliefs can be explained and in the light of which they can be planned and controlled. This approach implies that human societies are natural systems which can be reduced to variables. Anthropologists have therefore taken one or other of the natural sciences as their model and have turned their backs on history, which sees men in a different way and eschews, in the light of experience, rigid formulations of any kind.

There is, however, an older tradition than that of the Enlightenment with a different approach to the study of human societies, in which they are seen as systems only because social life must have a pattern of some kind, inasmuch as man, being a reasonable creature, has to live in a world in which his relations with those around him are



ordered and intelligible. Naturally I think that those who see things in this way have a clearer understanding of social reality than the others, but whether this is so or not they are increasing in number, and this is likely to continue because the vast majority of students of anthropology today have been trained in one or other of the humanities and not, as was the case thirty years ago, in one or other of the natural sciences. This being so, I expect that in the future there will be a turning towards humanistic disciplines, especially towards history, and particularly towards social history or the history of institutions, of cultures and of ideas. In this change of orientation social anthropology will

retain its individuality because it has its own special problems, techniques and traditions. Though it is likely to continue for some time to devote its attention chiefly to primitive societies, I believe that during this second half of the century it will give far more attention than in the past to more complex cultures and especially to the civilizations of the Far and Near East and become, in a very general sense, the counterpart to Oriental Studies, in so far as these are conceived of as primarily linguistic and literary—that is to say, it will take as its province the cultures and societies, past as well as present, of the non-European peoples of the world.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee: Report on Pattern-Welding on a Viking Period Spearhead

# 199

#### Introduction

Herringbone and other patterns worked in the steel of spearheads and sword blades of the Saxon and Viking periods have received increasing attention of recent years; see, for example, T. D. Kendrick, 'Some Types of Ornamentation on Late Saxon and Viking Period Weapons in England,' *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, Vol. IX, Helsinki, 1934, pp. 392-8; H. Maryon, 'A sword of the Nydam type from Ely Fields Farm near Ely,' *Cambs. Antiq. Soc. Proc.* Vol. XLI, Cambridge, 1946; and my note on some Viking Period weapons from the Thames in the forthcoming Vol. LI of the *Berks. Arch. Journ.* All three of these papers assume a welding together of thin strips or wires to form a panel which was later welded into the surface of the sword or spearhead. Mr. Maryon in the paper cited has called the process 'pattern-welding' and has gone into it in some detail. He postulates the welding together of strips or wires each about one-hundredth of an inch thick.

Mr. H. H. Coghlan suggested to me in discussion that the preparation of such fine strips or wires would be a difficult feat for the smiths of the period; he thought that polished and etched sections of such a pattern-welded piece would help to show whether this structural explanation of the surface is correct. Accordingly, with the consent of Mr. W. A. Smallcombe, Director of Reading Museum, a specimen of uncertain origin, but probably derived from the bed of the Kennet at Reading, was entrusted to Mr. Coghlan for sectioning under the auspices of the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee. A report on the results of sectioning follows this introductory note.

A. E. P. COLLINS

#### Report

The thanks of the Committee are due to Messrs. Alfred Herbert, Coventry, who kindly consented to examine the specimen. Their Laboratory Report (No. 12816) follows:

Micrograph No. 1 at 12 diameters magnification was photographed looking down on one of the rippled surfaces near the centre of the spear after partial smoothing, followed by polishing and etching.

On one print are marked in ink three projections which indicate the pitch of the rippling, and the depressions between each oblique ridge of metal are identified by holes still left in the surface. Two strips of very soft steel have been laid

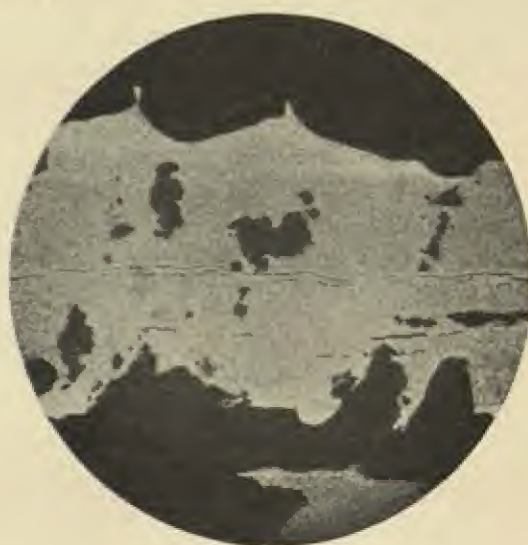


FIG. 1. MICROGRAPH NO. 1

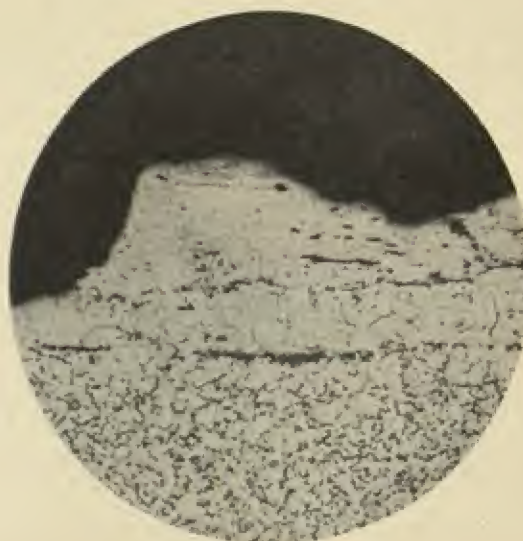


FIG. 2. MICROGRAPH NO. 2



longitudinally side by side, but there has been no twisting in this region to account for the rippled surface. Further along the smith of ancient times seems to have twisted the strips once or twice in a haphazard way, and in another place tiny fragments of metal had apparently been hammered into the surface.

A radiused tool about five-thirty-seconds of an inch wide might have been used to stipple the surface, but if so, corrosion has removed the disturbed metal, for on photograph No. 2, at 50 diameters magnification, it will be observed that the fibre is roughly parallel, and does not follow the contour of the depressions. This micrograph was photographed on a longitudinal section taken at right angles to photograph No. 1, and was similarly polished and etched. It is interesting to note that two layers are visible here also, and the inner layer, which has not of course been affected by corrosion, is now approximately one-hundredth of an inch thick.

Is it possible that a cold stippling process has been used to put tension into the blade, while at the same time giving a check on the soundness of the welding? The obviously disturbed fibre might be removed by rusting, the unevenness being preserved

by selective attack. I have no great confidence in this theory, but put it forward merely for consideration.

The rippled strips running down the spear average about 0.015 inches in thickness, but in places increase to 0.025 inches, and the metal is very low in carbon. This circumstance is probably due to decarburization, which would occur naturally during the preparation of very thin sections at a red heat. In photograph No. 2 there is evidence that at least two thicknesses have been welded one over the other, as stated above, and considerable craftsmanship would be required to manipulate successfully such delicate strips.

A cross-section of the spear reveals that the weapon has been compacted from about twelve longitudinal rods, apart from the stippled layers. The central regions of the spear contain little carbon and are very soft (97.4 D.P.N.—1 kilo load), whereas towards the blade edges the metal has as much as 0.45 per cent. of this element, and the hardness is consequently a little greater (219 D.P.N.—1 kilo load). The hardness readings vary as one would expect with the carbon content, and there is no evidence of any attempt to harden the steel by quenching.

H. H. BEENY

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**A Hundred Years of Archaeology.** By Glyn E. Daniel. London (Duckworth), 1950. Pp. 344. Price 21s.

**200** Prehistoric archaeology requires many further reliable works of synthesis and reasoned interpretation before the subject can be either taught or studied as it deserves. A glance at the unbroken flow of excavation reports, monographs and periodicals in every major language is enough to convince that distillation is not a luxury but an urgent duty. But even for one's chosen interests this final creative process is the most exacting stage, and one need scarcely add that to analyse the gradual evolution and present state of prehistoric archaeology, on a world scale, calls for unusual powers of discernment. It should be said at once that Dr. Glyn Daniel has been very successful. This book should be of value to every student of prehistory, or of the humanities generally, and it will doubtless run to several editions as a standard work of reference. But it is as a work also of interpretation (as far as limitations of book space allow) that it is particularly welcome. The famous episodes in the evolution of the subject, and the biographies of its original and dynamic personalities, all deserve to be better known and can be pursued from the references. But Dr. Daniel has concentrated on the wider issues and singled out the crucial phases in the emergence and growth of prehistory so that the major achievements now stand out in their proper proportions and significance.

The effect is to illuminate anew with refreshing clarity its whole past development, which in turn throws light on problems of its future course. There is a valuable summary of the first hazy perceptions of the nature and length of prehistory and its progressive separation from antiquarianism, the decisive impact of the natural sciences in the mid nineteenth century, the exacting scholarship and unquenchable enthusiasm of the Victorians that both systematized and speculated, and the first successful attempts (in the last few decades) to write a coherent and continuous prehistoric narrative from excavated data alone, at first on a regional, and now, gradually on an international basis. All these, and many other significant developments, are presented succinctly and with a great sense of history. Various chapters discuss 'The Antiquarian Background,' 'The Birth of Archaeology, 1840-70,' 'The Discovery of the Near Eastern Civilizations, 1900-50,' 'The Development of World Prehistory,' etc. One can only admire the determined way in which the author has sifted and collated the vast amount of material. But it makes one all the more anxious to see the treatment extended, in some sequel, to a unified account of the progress of historic archaeology as well. To encompass both in this volume would have reduced it to a catalogue, but more perhaps might have been made

of the link with classical studies, which have been the training ground of many eminent writers of prehistory who were primarily 'all-rounders' and archaeologists without a prefix. Efforts are still needed to break down the obsolete severance of 'prehistory' and 'history,' which are only methodological subdivisions within a single narrative. Their integration is proceeding (though too slowly); and in this connexion it is welcome to see a tribute, among others, to the services of H. G. Wells, whose formative influence is often underestimated.

Dr. Daniel's book comes at a particularly opportune moment, when a phase of 'stocktaking' is perhaps overdue. The present scope and rate of day-to-day discovery (likely to accelerate) may not provide the setting most conducive to introspective inquiry into the future direction, strategy, and 'philosophy' of the subject, yet both must of course proceed simultaneously. The increased command of laboratory skills, and new and improved techniques, will presumably continue, but it is imperative that this should be accompanied (or preferably directed) by an increased refinement of the aims. The next stage in the formulation of the primary aims of prehistory is advanced in Dr. Daniel's clear reasoning: 'The scale of importance of the archaeologist's work at the present day is not the number and size and frequency of his excavations, but the extent to which he has contributed to the writing or re-writing of the early history of man' (p. 326). The main thing is to ensure that prehistory lives up to its name from the criterion of historiography, and that it really becomes a history of cultures. In short, the primary concern must always be to 'put the history into prehistory,' to re-create the life story of pre-literate societies without swamping it with the necessary raw material ('pots and pans,' etc.) which must remain the basis. Dr. Daniel's survey helps to make clearer the re-orientation in the use and presentation of the material to this end that has been taking shape, and perhaps heralds the dawn of a new phase in prehistoric studies.

J. S. P. BRADFORD

**Most of the World: The Peoples of Africa, Latin America, and the East Today.** Edited by Ralph Linton. New York. (Columbia Univ. Press), 1949. Pp. viii, 918, maps in text. Price \$5.50

**201** This is a close-packed survey of the principal regions outside Europe and North America which have been affected by the expansion of Western culture. The editorship of Dr. Ralph Linton is sufficient guarantee of its quality, and his brief introduction defines its scope and method. Its outstanding interest in economic problems is prefaced by Howard Meyerhoff's crowded survey of



natural resources and Stephen Reed's examination of world population trends. Then come encyclopedia articles on Mestizo America, Brazil, Southern and Eastern Africa, West and Central Africa, North Africa, the Near East, India and Pakistan, South-East Asia and Indonesia, China, and Japan. A brief appendix introduces the authors, and there is a full index.

The contributors have been left fairly free to apportion their space according to the requirements of each region. Some are more fully historical, others economic, China and Japan hardly go beyond descriptive sociology. There is some overlap, as in descriptions of Islam: and there might have been more drastic editing, as in Dr. Bascom's descriptions of West Africa, which have been submitted to officials and severely criticized by them.

That is an extreme instance of a general tendency to present as authoritative the views of self-styled victims of imperialism, not unnatural in a mainly American book. In a pendant chapter on the United States a Redskin presentation might be resented in some quarters. In contrast with most sections, China and Japan break off just before the latest turn of events; and inevitably events elsewhere also have been moving so rapidly that it has not been possible to bring the story as far as might have been hoped. But the book contains much valuable information, and each chapter has its select bibliography.

JOHN L. MYRES

**The Proper Study of Mankind: An Inquiry into the Science of Human Relations.** By Stuart Chase. London (Phonix House), 1950. Pp. 288. Price 16s.

**202** We hear much of the need to apply anthropological methods to modern societies, and something of recent experiments in this field. Here is a clear and well informed survey of the whole ground, and some details about such inquiries, chiefly American. It begins with the recent refusal of the United States Senate to include social science in the scope of the National Science Foundation, and some of the arguments for this. This 'seminar in social science was a pretty confused affair': senators at all events thought they knew enough about the study to dispense with encouragement of it. The method of inquiry in atomic physics, which was encouraged, is now compared with the war-time discovery, how to train an air pilot, organized by Dr. Flanagan, with its remarkable insistence on group psychology, applicable to peace-time careers also. With this outstanding example in mind, Chase goes on to examine current conceptions of social science, to distinguish between experimental proof and unverified hypothesis, and to outline the main 'unanswered questions of mankind.'

In his Part II he states briefly the 'culture concept' which emerges from social anthropology, referring to Sumner's *Folkways* and Linton's *Study of Man* as typical expositions; the concentric 'rings' of culture from general civilization to minor regional systems, within which every man is humanized from birth onwards; the growth of the concept from Lewis Morgan's study of the Seneca Indians to the Cross-cultural Index at Yale; the universal functions or needs of all human groups; and the disorganization of these in mechanized societies. Leighton's study of an Arizona war camp of Japanese Americans, where civilization very nearly broke down in 1942, shows what social science can do if it is allowed. Race prejudice is analysed and its causes examined. The work of Ogburn, Boas and W. I. Thomas on the concept of progress leads to recent reports on American culture: *Middletown*, *Plainville*, *Deep South*, *Yankee City*, the Hawthorne experiment. The measurement of public opinion, by 'polls' and other devices, leads to devastating

criticism of recent economic forecasts, and appreciation of the work of Colin Clark, J. M. Clark, Keynes, Berle and Means on corporate enterprise, Kinsey and other students of adolescence, crime and of punishment.

Part III starts from failure of communications—such as the 'Iron Curtain'—with converse insistence on knowledge and mutual intelligence as the fundamental condition for co-operation and world peace. There is an interesting exploration of 'semantics,' more needful perhaps in the New World than elsewhere, because so many people there are not really speaking a language of their own, and consequently fail to acquire a common culture. This topic deserves more searching examination, on the lines of the author's earlier book, *The Tyranny of Words*. But some elementary devices, propounded by Korzybski, are commended: the use of indices, of dates, of the critical 'et cetera,' of quotation marks for abstract terms, and of hyphens between inseparable terms; rather doctrinaire and academic, but they illustrate our elementary lack of cultural technique. Finally there are suggestions for large-scale projects of research in social science; area studies, group organizations, the 'unsolved issue of power,' the limits and opportunities of international activities on the largest scale. Next best to organized knowledge is agreement to confess ignorance: 'We don't know the answer, but we are going to try to find it' (p. 264). In physics, the rate of accumulation of knowledge is on an exponential curve. Why is it not so also in social anthropology? Or are we perhaps already on such a curve, as Ogburn, Conant and this stimulating writer seem to believe? But there is 'a lot of detritus in the form of stale and unprofitable theory to be swept aside' (p. 267). Unverified hypotheses are no harm, provided they are recognized as such, like perpetual-motion machines in physics.

There is much in this frank and breezy book for all kinds of students of humanity, and for reformers.

JOHN L. MYRES

**Personal Character and Cultural Milieu: A Collection of Readings.** Compiled by Douglas G. Haring. Revised edn. New York (Syracuse Univ. Press), 1949. Pp. 670. Price \$5

**203** This volume meets a very real need, especially for the English student of the 'culture-personality' field, by assembling in one place some of the best papers which have appeared in all too often inaccessible journals. With this book in hand, all the student needs to command a major portion of the periodical literature of this field, is Kluckhohn and Murray's *Personality in Culture, Society and Nature*.

The volume includes more works by more authors than space permits listing of; some of the more important papers reproduced are Kluckhohn's 'Participation in Ceremonials in a Navaho Community,' 'A Navaho Personal Document' and 'Some Aspects of Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood'; Mead's 'The Concept of Culture and the Psychosomatic Approach' and 'The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development'; Benedict's 'Anthropology and the Abnormal'; Bateson's 'Some Systematic Approaches to the Study of Culture and Personality' and 'Sex and Culture'; E. H. Erickson's 'Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes'; Kardiner's 'The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences'; Gorer's 'Themes in Japanese Culture'; Cora DuBois' 'Attitudes toward Food and Hunger in Alor.'

Each paper is preceded by a few words, brief and to the point, by the compiler, with a short list of further references for the interested student.

D. M. SCHNEIDER

## AFRICA

**Umbundu Kinship and Character.** By Gladwyn Murray Childs. London (O. U. P. for Internat. Afr. Inst. and Witwatersrand Univ. Press), 1949. Pp. xviii, 245, bibliographies, 3 maps, 16 plates. Price 21s.

**204** The Mbundu are a Bantu-speaking people living on the Benguela plateau in central Angola. Mr. Childs, who was trained in anthropology at Columbia University, has worked among them for many years under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners

for Foreign Missions. Throughout the book he retains the prefixes Oci-, Ovi-, and U- before Mbundu to avoid confusion with the Ndongo people of northern Angola whose language is sometimes referred to as kiMbundu.

The field which Mr. Childs sets out to cover is vast and it is the magnitude of his task that has, I think, been his undoing. He discusses such diverse topics as the geology and prehistory of Mbundu country, comparisons between Mbundu and Herero, Zulu, and



Shona cross-cousin marriage, and proposed syllabuses for Mbundu schools, and yet the precise information one is seeking seems often to be left out. He divides the book into four sections, an introduction (16 pp.) which is mainly human geography, social structure (63 pp.), individual development and education (74 pp.) and historical (67 pp.). The last section is by far the clearest. He traces lucidly the documented history of the area from the end of the fifteenth century, the development of trans-African and extra-African trade, and the gradual extension of Portuguese control into the area. His discussion on the identity of the Jagas is illuminating. If anything, we would like more information on the working of the Portuguese administration and its effect on Mbundu society. He mentions the reduced importance of the chiefs under Direct Rule, but presumably there are other ways in which the old order is played off against the new.

Childs characterizes the Mbundu as a strong and aggressive people (p. 130). However, the child 'grows into a comparatively well adjusted life, and so avoids the major conflicts to a much greater degree than is the case in our society' (p. 124). He goes on to say that those 'educated within the kinship system' tend to be well adjusted, while those who are brought up in 'extra-tribal, detribalized, or non-traditional' situations tend to be ill adjusted. Where does all this aggression then find its outlet? One of the outlets in the past was in trading and raiding. Turned within tribal society, aggression may take the form of accusations of sorcery. Yet elsewhere Childs says that sorcery is the chief 'internally disruptive force' (p. 57) and the increased incidence of sorcery (*i.e.* presumably of charges of sorcery) is 'probably a considerable factor in the present rapid disintegration of the Umbundu social structure' (p. 58). He tells us when accusations of sorcery are made but not what happens to the group of kinsmen after a charge of sorcery has been made within it. If we had been presented with a less static picture of social groups it would be easier to see how sorcery operates as a socially disruptive mechanism. From all the evidence available, both as to Mbundu character and social groups, it appears that while social segmentation may occur through the idiom of a sorcery charge, sorcery itself is indispensable to the maintenance of Mbundu culture and society as a whole. Childs himself states that people who get angry, and who therefore, he argues, must be ill adjusted, are considered sorcerers 'either by themselves or others' (p. 124). Surely there must needs be in any society some people who are comparatively ill adjusted and some provision for such people is necessary for the continued existence of the society.

His account of Mbundu character does, however, contain many interesting suggestions. Severely crippled people suffer from overt inferiority conflicts and adopt compensatory anti-social behaviour (pp. 129f.). There is possibly a correlation between parent-child fixations and period of adolescent stress (pp. 126f.). His picture of the original Mbundu culture as lacking 'conflict between the generations, adolescence as a period of stress, delinquency, hysteria' (p. 117) is however much too idyllic to be accepted without further proof. Indeed, it is sometimes hard to tell how much of his account of Mbundu development refers to ideal patterns and how much to observed behaviour. The chapters on the Mbundu Baby, Childhood and Adolescence (which includes half a page on adult life) are presented largely in the form of a composite manuscript compiled for classroom use from the contributions of a number of Mbundu men and women. As such it presumably relates to ideal or expected patterns, and we would like to know to what extent actual behaviour differs or conforms.

It has long been known that the Mbundu have some system of double descent. Childs says that every man belongs to two distinct groupings of kinsfolk, which he refers to as father's kin (*olue*) and mother's kin (*oluina*). Uterine brothers and sisters belong to the same two groups (p. 43). Marriage is generally patrilocal, and the father's kin form a local unit, while the mother's kin do not. Both kinds of group have ritual leaders and these sets of offices are distinct. It is clear therefore that the two groups to which a man belongs fall into different systems, and we can rule out the possibility that these groups are father's patrikin and mother's patrikin, or father's matrikin and mother's matrikin, or even father's cognates and mother's cognates. At first glance it looks as if the groups are father's

patrilineage and mother's matrilineage. The generation depth of these lineages can only be guessed. We are told that the head of the father's kin is the village headman, that some local groups recognize mutual relationships and that villages consist of from 5 to 500 households. This would suggest a depth of from say three to eight generations for the localized patrilineage. No such estimate is possible for the matrilineage, for we are only told that the matrilineage head is the family head (p. 46), family here being used 'in the sense of a large and widespread organization' (p. 44).

Both kinds of group are bisected into 'the side of the bow' and 'the side of the basket,' translated by Childs as the male line and the female line. Uterine brothers and sisters belong respectively to the male and female lines of both groups. This suggests that the two 'lines' are merely words referring to the male and female members of a lineage of either type. However, this explanation conflicts with the data given on marriage. A man can marry a woman belonging to the female line of the father's kin or to the male line of the mother's kin. Hence there must be some women in a male line and, presumably, some men in a female line. A man cannot marry a parallel cousin but he may marry a female cross-cousin, a father's sister, or a sister's daughter (p. 53). The father's sister presumably belongs to the female line of ego's father's kin, which presents no difficulty. The sister's daughter, however, would appear to be in the female line of ego's mother's kin whereas a man should marry into the male line of his mother's kin. If these kin groups are lineages, ego's cross-cousins do not belong to either his father's kin or his mother's kin. There is, however, an obscure remark, apropos of a statement by Hambly, that seems to imply that mother's brother's daughter belongs to ego's mother's kin (p. 53, note 3). This suggests that the children of men of the matrilineage are included in mother's kin, falling into the male line irrespective of sex. Similarly, the father's kin may include in its female line all the children of women of the patrilineage. By this hypothesis, the remark about a man marrying into the female line of the father's kin and into the male line of the mother's kin would apply to cross-cousin as well as to marriage with father's sister. Marriage with ego's sister's daughter remains unexplained in these terms.

The major difficulty presented by this hypothesis is that it requires that every person should belong to four distinct groups and not merely two. A man must belong not only to the male line of the two groups centred in his father's patrilineage and his mother's matrilineage, but also to the male line of his father's matrilineal group and to the female line of his mother's patrilineal group. There are still only two systems of groups, but a man belongs to two groups in each system. Similar membership is required for a woman. A man shares with all his children his membership of the male line of his mother's matrilineal group, and shares with his sons membership of the male line in his father's patrilineal group. His daughters belong to his father's patrilineal group but to its female side. He does not transmit to his children membership in his father's matrilineal group or in his mother's patrilineal group. Childs nowhere suggests that a man belongs to four distinct groups, and he does not describe the membership of any group exhaustively. I have put forward this hypothesis in order to reconcile his statements. He says, 'It is of great importance to get a clear idea of this bilateral nature of these kinship groupings' (p. 43), but without some construction such as this the clear idea eludes me.

Quite the weakest part of the book is the analysis of the population of a sample village (pp. 28-31). There is confusion in the use of the terms 'village' (*imbo*) and 'ward' (*ocitawila*). The same village is variously described as having 41 and 42 adult male residents and 28, 36 and 48 households. In a table he divides 44 householders into six categories to indicate their genealogical relationship to their ward head. These categories could be improved, but it is also not clear how the table connects with the succeeding argument. The table is said to indicate the proportion of patrilocal marriages. Since we are not told the sex of all the householders, or where their spouses come from, I cannot see what this proportion is or is meant to be. Childs says (twice) that he collected 192 genealogies and that the proportions indicated by his table are approximately the same as those derived from the genealogies and from some 74 'marriage-schedules' which were also collected. We would like to know how



this comparison was made. The only genealogy shown in the book does not, as printed, yield any information about marriage residence but is merely a diagram of proper names. He tells us that the heads of households are usually related to each other agnatically (p. 25), but does not say how the heads of the wards of his sample village are related to each other.

Despite the 75 'marriage-schedules' (pp. 17 and 54—on p. 29, the number is given as 74) the analysis of Mbundu marriage is weak. Nowhere in the book is there any mention of divorce, although we know from Hamby that divorce does occur. Childs says that the bilineal kinship system makes for stability of marriage, an assertion that may well be true for the Mbundu. Since, however, the bulk of the African evidence indicates that bilateral, as opposed to bilineal, emphasis makes for marriage instability, we may reasonably ask for more definite information about marriage stability, the frequency of divorce, and the operation of the bilineal system before we accept this assertion. He emphasizes the importance of the 'financial arrangements' made at marriage but does not tell us what these arrangements are. Cross-cousin marriage is allowed and 'many of the relatives by marriage are already blood relatives' (p. 56). Yet there is no analysis of the sample village from this point of view and no indication of the proportion of wives who are already related to their husbands before marriage.

At various stages in the book Childs discusses how missionary and educational activity can best be arranged in relation to the social and cultural background of converts. He argues vigorously for linking schools and churches with the kinship system, and

indeed for integrating the overall organization of the church with as much of the indigenous social structure as possible. Although we may not necessarily share Childs' confidence in the successful outcome of this kind of planned structural and cultural change, we are forced to admire his sincerity and enthusiasm.

This book then certainly adds to our knowledge of the Mbundu people, not perhaps so much for what it tells us as for what we now know we must ask. It may be felt that I have been too critical of a work written by someone who is neither a professional anthropologist nor a professional psychologist. It is Mr. Childs' continued insistence on the importance to his fellow missionaries and educators of understanding Mbundu social structure that may perhaps justify my strictures. I certainly hope that he will follow up this book with more detailed work on the operation of those social processes which he has so tantalizingly sketched.

J. A. BARNES

**On the Edge of the Primeval Forest and More from the Primeval Forest.** By Albert Schweitzer. London (A. & C. Black), 1948. Pp. vii, 222, 35 plates. Price 10s. 6d.

205 This reprint of a record of devoted humanitarian work in some of the worst climatic conditions of equatorial Africa will be welcomed by Dr. Schweitzer's many admirers in this country. It is not, of course, intended to be a contribution to social anthropology, but all the same it seems a pity that some of Dr. Schweitzer's generalizations on 'native' life and attitudes should be so naive—for they inevitably carry the weight of his great reputation.

BARBARA WARD

## ASIA

**Ainu Folklore.** By Carl Eiter. Chicago (Wilcox & Follett), 1949. Pp. xxii, 234.

206 The reader who is looking for a serious study of the traditional beliefs of the fast vanishing Ainu will find little to interest him in this book. In his discussion of Ainu legends and superstitions, the author has too obviously and easily correlated them with similar concepts of Christianity and Judaism, and too often finds irresistible the urge to moralize.

MARGARET PLASS

**Studies in Third Millennium History.** By T. Burton Brown. London (Luzac), 1946. Pp. 120, 3 plates, 9 figs. Price 10s. 6d.

207 This small book appeared two years before Claude Schaeffer's monumental *Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, and is therefore the first attempt to synthesize the archaeological results of an area extending from the south-eastern end of the Caspian Sea to the Aegean, and from

southern Russia to Egypt. Its great merit as a handbook is that it consists almost entirely of facts, fully documented and classified, with a short summary and conclusion after each group, so that the worker in any area can find his relation with others quickly and as clearly as the present state of knowledge allows.

My own work was in Mesopotamia, and the summary of data from that country is clear and good. Mr. G. A. Wainwright in another review has described the chapter about Egypt as fully satisfactory. Thus we can have confidence in the author's treatment of other areas.

When we consider the enormous amount of labour required to get a clear picture of one of the areas covered by Mr. Burton Brown's classified index to comparative Near Eastern archaeology, we are grateful to him for this pioneer study, so condensed and convenient, and confined to essentials. The book will always be valuable for reference.

T. K. PENNIMAN

## EUROPE

**The People of Great Russia.** By Geoffrey Gorer and John Rickman. London (Cresset Press), 1949. Pp. 236. Price 10s. 6d.

208 Mr. Gorer's objectives are '... to isolate and analyse the principal motives which can be discerned as informing and underlying [the Russians'] typical behaviour. ... Concurrently it is an attempt to explore the means by which these motives are elicited and maintained in the majority of the new members who are added to the society by birth, so that the society maintains its identity and consistency through time' (p. 1). Mr. Gorer is aware that the solution to the second of these problems does not provide the solution to the first, for he says: 'In the life of the individual the development of specific motives through appropriate education precedes the manifestation of these motives in adult behaviour; but this should not be interpreted to mean that, for the society as a whole, these techniques of education are the cause of adult behaviour ...' (p. 7).

The body of the book is contained in two chapters, the one on 'Childhood Training' in which basic data are reported, the other on 'Character Developments' which interprets these data. Limitations of space permit only the briefest summary of Mr. Gorer's argument. Russians swaddle the infant tightly, thus inhibiting free movement of all the larger muscles, except for bathing and feeding, when the child is unbound. This constraint is painful and frustrating and the

infant responds with intense and destructive rage. This situation is prototypic, for the individual, of the host of characteristics, such as diffuse guilt, feelings of loneliness and helplessness, stress on the experience of the soul and disregard for the body, which Mr. Gorer considers typical of Russian behaviour. But Mr. Gorer is quite explicit about what he is explaining by this argument: 'It is not the argument of this study that the Russian manner of swaddling their children produces the Russian character. ... Swaddling is one of the devices which Russian adults employ to communicate with the child in its first year of life, to lay the foundation for these habits and attitudes which will subsequently be developed and strengthened by all the major institutions of Great Russian society' (pp. 128f.). In short, he is dealing with the second of the objectives which he sets forth, quoted above.

The national-character approach, of which this book is one of the latest examples, is open to at least two major criticisms. First, the material presented is made up of empirical generalizations, in this case about the behaviour of the Great Russians, and a series of deductions following from them. Although both these orders of material are presented as unverified hypotheses (see, for instance, p. 123), little effort has been directed toward their verification. Second, these studies are based on an elaborate but implicit theoretical scheme. So long as this theory remains implicit, it cannot



be examined critically nor can it be checked against empirical findings.

Despite the implicit nature of the theory as it stands, certain major directions are discernible; directions which, made explicit and subjected to the empirical checking they deserve, hold promise of major developments in anthropological theory.

The most convenient way of illuminating the potential contribution of the approach exemplified by Mr. Gorer's study of the people of Great Russia is to examine the question which has often been raised in criticism, namely, 'Can generalizations about national character be made about the large, highly differentiated western societies?' Although small, homogeneous preliterate societies may well show a common, well integrated system of normative rules, it would seem that western societies, because of their large populations and because their social systems are so highly differentiated, fail to exhibit such a common normative system, or, at best, that the normative system is integrated to only a small degree. But on closer inspection, and in the light of the work of such sociologists as Durkheim and Weber, the distinction between western and preliterate societies on these grounds seems of doubtful validity. If we consider, for example, economic institutions of western societies, it seems clear that, if there is not chaos (although there may often seem to be), certain common definitions of economic situations, certain normative rules must obtain if there is to be the specialization and division of labour which do in fact occur. If there is to be differentiation, then that differentiation cannot be random with respect to the commonly applying norms. They must be oriented with careful respect to these norms, and the norms of differentiation themselves (for instance, that men work for a living, women keep house) must in turn be held in common by the whole group. A system of normative rules common to all concerned is, then, functionally prerequisite to the existence of differentiation within a working society. Generalizations of the sort produced by Mr. Gorer and other students of national character apply to these common norms and it is by virtue of the fact that societies show a commonly held normative system that such generalizations can be made.

It is precisely at this point that the national-character approach becomes relevant for anthropological theory. Durkheim, Weber, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and others have shown that normative systems are integrated, albeit not perfectly. Integration has been shown to obtain on both the functional and the logical levels (the logical level deals with the question of whether the rules do or do not require contradictory actions at any given moment for any given actor, and whether they make sense as a whole). But this work has been confined almost entirely to socially defined norms separated from the individuals who act in the situation to which the norms refer. The national-character approach introduces another dimension in terms of which integration may be conceived. It does this by tying the socially defined system of rules to the individuals who act in terms of these rules. A basic premise of their work is that organized motivational systems are co-ordinate with this system of normative rules and functionally integrated with it. Just as there are differences in the social behaviour of individuals, so too are there differences in the character of individuals; but for any given society, as there are common normative rules, so too are there common modes of character organization, and the commonalities of social norms are reciprocally related to the commonalities in character through the individuals who act in the social system.

Whereas Malinowski showed that the various elements of a culture were functionally related, Ruth Benedict tried to show how normative systems seem to be organized about a few major themes. Although she failed to demonstrate her original contention that cultures were organized about a single theme, she drew attention to the very limited number of central themes which form the configuring features of cultures. In doing this Benedict shifted attention on to the explicit content of the normative system and its affective meaning for the acting individual and away from the question which occupied Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Durkheim, that is, the question of integration with respect to the problem of how the social system functioned and maintained itself.

Thus where Lowie spoke of culture as a thing of shreds and patches, Malinowski was able to go so far as to show that the

shreds and patches were all sewn to one patch-work quilt, and that each patch was functionally related to the other patches on that quilt. Benedict went further, arguing that there was both rhyme and reason to the quilt, that the functional integration of the patches was not a fortuitous matter of choosing any old piece that happened to fit, but that in part it depended on each patch being a variant of one or another of the limited number of central themes. Thus it follows that the socialization situation is functionally, logically and motivationally integrated with the rest of the culture, and cannot be treated as an independent variable.

By treating the socialization situation as determined by its integration with the rest of the culture, the national-character approach has been able to describe the socialization process more fully and more efficiently than has heretofore been possible. It has been able to do more than merely assert that a society does maintain its culture longer than the life span of any single generation; it has been able to show how and by what devices it does this. The national-character approach argues that by a series of manifestly different, yet fundamentally similar, techniques and devices parents convey to their very young children the central themes or attitudes which, as parents participating in their culture, they hold. This means that what the child has to learn is organized for him in terms of a few major lessons, thus making both the task of learning and the task of teaching manageable. It means that, for any given child, these early, highly generalized lessons become the background against which new situations are met. That the kinds of situations he will meet are determined by the culture in which he has to live and that these situations are ordered in terms of the same major themes which he was first taught mean that there is continuity in the learning situation with later lessons reinforcing earlier ones.

Discovering what these central themes are, what motives underlie them and how these attitudes are conveyed to the new members of the society has been the task of the national-character approach. In *The People of Great Russia* Mr. Gorer has only attempted the latter two tasks explicitly and on an empirical level, using the Russians as his particular problem. The question now is not one of asking 'Are these hypotheses proved?', for by definition they are not. The question is, rather: 'Can they be proved? If so, and if they are proved, what then?'

It is here that Mr. Gorer and others of the national-character school must be taken to task for failing thus far to provide their colleagues with a generalized theory which can be appraised on logical grounds, or with at least an outline indicating what crucial experiments or studies might be undertaken. Until either the general theory or the crucial study are available, little prospect of either general acceptance or general rejection of the approach, on rational grounds, can be foreseen. At the moment the approach seems to hold great promise for what it might well contribute to anthropological theory, and with such great promise as the dominating feature of the work I find it hard to quibble over lesser matters, although there is no denying that there are many.

D. M. SCHNEIDER

**A Book of Gypsy Folk Tales.** Selected by Dora E. Yates. London (Phaenix House), 1948. Pp. xvii, 197. Price 12s. 6d.

**209** The 44 stories in this book fall into two classes: 29 are translations from Romani, and 15 are stories told by Gypsies in English. From outside the United Kingdom we have tales from 10 countries, mainly Slav and from the direction of the Balkans. I miss anything from the Gypsies of the old Turkey of Abdul Hamid. After the holocaust of Paspasi's papers in a great fire at Constantinople, there may be nothing left, and the few stories in his *Études sur les Tchinghianès* are very bald and disjointed; badly recorded, I suspect, rather than badly told. Still, even if only *honoris causa*, it would have been good to see a notice of the name Paspasi.

The book has a wide appeal. Those who like good stories will find plenty of amusement, and those who have any special interest in folktales will like to have so many Gypsy stories brought together in a convenient collection. Yet some students may be a little disappointed. There is an absence of exact references to where the



original Romani texts are to be found: little more is given beyond a general acknowledgment to the Gypsy Lore Society, 'in the pages of whose journal many of these tales made their original appearance.' Nor does the student of the origin and spread of folktales fare much better. Such a reader with Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* to Grimm in his hands would be helped, and at no great expense of space, by being told, for example, that *The Chordiljenis* on p. 78 is a variant of Grimm, No. 111, and is the story called by Sir William Halliday more conveniently *The Magic Brothers-in-law*, for which see *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 272; or again that *The Iron Man* on p. 111 is Grimm, No. 63, with the characteristic opening, for which again see Halliday, of the three brothers shooting arrows or casting spears: 'My boys, do ye take your spears and fling them up towards God: where your spears fall, thence shall ye bring your wives.' A few such references would not have taken much space. Not that they are as much needed here as in some collections of folktales, for I have the impression that Gypsy tales are above all things of the Gypsies and represent their own character much more fully than they do the general corpus of European folktales. The national is well ahead of the general.

Yet after all it may well be said that the student is or ought to be able to look after himself, and in this book he is never misled; he simply does not get the guidance which the author could so well have given to persons less learned than herself. Also, he is given an abundance of material otherwise not easy of access, and both he and the general reader have a fine collection of amusing stories which cast a bright light on the general ways of thought of the Gypsies. The stories in the second part told in English are full of savour. I think I like best the story recorded by Miss Yates herself, *The Grey Castle*; and the three at the end of the book will bring happily to the minds of many readers the learning and charm of Dr. John Samson. There is a good frontispiece from a portrait by Mr. Augustus John, and some fine photographs (in the page references to these, 51 should be 35). This is a fine book, well got up, with good stories for the general reader and for the man who studies folktales full of material, and the special instances I have given are only a few out of many.

R. M. DAWKINS

**The Enchanted Forest and other Tales.** By Robert Crotchet, with Introduction by Eric Linklater and woodcuts by Eric King. London (Richards Press), 1949. Pp. 188. Price 12s. 6d.

210 These nineteen legends were related to the author by the Skolt Lapps—to be precise, by the Suenjel Skolts—a little group of something over 200 persons who have lived from time immemorial in Petsamo, that area at the western end of the Kola Peninsula which belonged to Finland between the two World Wars. In 1944 Petsamo was ceded to the Soviet Union and the Skolts who had already been evacuated to the south because of the war were later allotted a new area in the north-eastern corner of Finnish Lapland. They were however without reindeer and fishing tackle and it was very difficult for them to start life again. M. Crotchet had visited them already before the Second World War and his warm feelings of friendship for them led to a devotion which resulted in much helpful relief work. By means of lectures, broadcasting and the Press he attracted the attention of a wide European public to the conditions of this tribe and he has made a most important contribution to their recovery. This collection of tales is a proof of his appreciation of their characteristics.

The Suenjel Skolts are of special interest because, having been so long isolated in the depths of their woods, they have preserved the traditions of the wilds better than other Lapps. This is clearly seen in their sagas which, although showing signs of Russian influence, reflect in a fascinating way old Lappish conceptions of nature's magical powers, of times when 'men grew apart from the animals and from the universe,' 'when the same thirst brought them to the same brook and the same instinct made them flee together before the rising storm.' Men appearing in the guise of animals are frequent in the stories, which as a whole give a very clear picture of the world of the Skolt's imagination.

The book however must be said to belong more to *belles lettres* than to folklore. There are some Russian traces in the author's conversation with the story-teller Kaissa, a fact which is probably due to the Skolts' polite way of adopting the language of their questioner. Readers of these tales will undoubtedly desire to learn more of this interesting people.

K. NICKUL

## PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**The Nature-Nurture Controversy.** By Nicholas Pastore. New York (King's Crown Press, Columbia Univ.; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. Pp. xvi, 213. Price 18s.

211 Investigations of the factors responsible for differences in human physical characters have, as a rule, been the monopoly of geneticists; those which concern differences in human intellect have been shared during the past 50 years between geneticists and students of the other social sciences. Opinions are very divided on the relative importance of the roles played by 'nature' and 'nurture' in fashioning these differences. One group, the 'hereditarians,' maintains that intellectual differences are due to 'nature,' by which is usually meant that they are heritable, and relatively stable in the face of changes in the environment. The other group, the 'environmentalists,' maintains that such differences are due principally to 'nurture' or the direct effects of environment during postnatal development. The recent Lysenko controversy has added fresh interest to this problem.

Dr. Pastore's contribution to the discussion is a very unusual one. He has tried to give an objective analysis of what he believes to be 'the relationship between the outlook of scientists on controversial nature-nurture problems and their attitudes towards social, political and economic questions.' The introductory section of his book states the general problem and defines various social and political terms which he uses. He then presents illustrative abstracts of the works of 24 outstanding scientists, from which it is possible to relate the 'environmentalist' or 'hereditarian' position they take in the controversy to their socio-political outlook. The group includes the geneticists William Bateson, Lancelot Hogben, J. B. S. Haldane, Charles B. Davenport, Edward M. East and Hermann J. Müller; the psychologists Francis Galton, William McDougall, Edward Lee Thorndike, Henry H. Goddard, Lewis Maddison Terman, Leta S. Hollingworth, James McKeen Cattell, Frank N. Freeman,

George D. Stoddard and John B. Watson; the biologists Frederick A. Woods, Paul Popenoe and Herbert S. Jennings; the sociologists Lester F. Ward and Charles Horton Cooley; the anthropologist Franz Boas; the educator William C. Bagley; and the statistician Karl Pearson.

The abstracts are summarized in the final section of the book, where Dr. Pastore argues that with two exceptions those scientists who held an environmentalist position in the nature-nurture dispute were either liberal or radical in their socio-political outlook, while those who emphasized the effects of heredity were conservative.

This correlation is interesting, but in spite of the author's attempt to attain objectivity, it would seem that several uncontrolled and in some cases apparently uncontrollable factors may have influenced his conclusions. In the first place, only individuals who had expressed themselves on both issues could be included. As Dr. Pastore himself recognizes, 'sampling errors' may have resulted because some workers had refrained from expressing themselves politically after sensing 'a contradiction between their scientific and political outlooks.' Other errors may have been introduced owing to an unconscious bias when rejecting some individuals 'because they did not express themselves sufficiently extensively to make their inclusion worthwhile.' Secondly, the data as presented in this book do not make it clear whether the views of individual scientists on one or both issues were consistent over a period of years—although Dr. Pastore does suggest that the quoted portions of their works often 'practically represent the author's total expression' on socio-economic issues. Third, it is possible that the views of some of the scientists quoted were influenced by those of other members of the group. This possibility is scantily treated in Dr. Pastore's book, and as a result it is not altogether clear whether the final analysis really relates to 24 independent opinions or to a smaller but indeterminate number.



Having discussed the correlation between the socio-political views of these scientists and their position in the nature-nurture dispute, Dr. Pastore concludes with a discussion of possible interactions between the two factors. His own opinion is that the scientists' socio-political allegiances 'were a significant determinant of their position on nature-nurture questions,' although he adds the footnote that 'it is quite likely that the formulation of their social philosophy was markedly influenced by virtue of an earlier adherence or exposure to a particular scientific tradition.' Even if the presumed correlation between a scientist's socio-political outlook and his stand in the nature-nurture controversy is substantiated, the evidence presented by Dr. Pastore seems inadequate to decide whether one factor directly conditioned the other or whether both are related to a third and as yet undefined factor. E. H. ASHTON

**Up from the Ape.** By E. A. Hooton. Revised edn. New York (Macmillan), 1947. Pp. xxii, 788, with 39 plates, 68 text figs., bibliog.

**212** The reappearance of Hooton's *Up from the Ape* is doubly welcome: first as an old friend, whose familiar features show changes induced by further experiences and a somewhat more mature outlook; secondly as an indicator of the great advances that have occurred in physical anthropology since the earlier edition was published in 1931. Essentially the book remains the same, an all-embracing, if compressed, compendium in the modern American manner, with frequent dashes of inimitable Hootonian humour and occasional relapses into doggerel puerility. Perhaps the author has become a little more credulous, including at times aspects better omitted, yet the incorporation of much solid up-to-date material counterbalances. The excellent photographs are retained.

To the original but modified five sections of the book, a sixth is added. Part I, 'Man's Relations,' has been extended slightly to allow fuller treatment of the monkeys and apes, the classification of the latter into Hylobatidae and Simiidae being accepted. Nissen's field observations on chimpanzee life, much of Schultz's comparative work, and von Krog's and Candela's blood-group studies have been included, necessitating partial rewriting. Part II, 'The Primate Life Cycle,' covers evolutionary history. The compressed, somewhat inaccurate, review of the geological background is excusable but liable to mislead. Hooton retains the Arboreal Hypothesis, and refers to tarsoid, gibbonoid, etc., stages in human ancestry; in a new section he discusses the possibility of cursorial rather than brachiating ancestors for man, and the conclusion reached, a compromise between the extreme views, is rather unsatisfactory. Perhaps the chief weakness throughout this part lies in the attempts at simplification of causes. Part III, 'The Individual Life Cycle,' is little changed except for the inclusion of, for example, the growth studies of Steggerda and Schultz.

It is in Part IV, 'Fossil Ancestors and Collaterals,' that the advances of the last few years, in new discoveries and resultant new interpretations, are most obvious. Ape fossils are dealt with somewhat superficially, and the more enthusiastic opinions expressed concerning the South African man-apes are treated with reserve. Some sections, e.g. those on the Javan and Neanderthaloid finds, are extremely useful. The value of this part is only diminished by the lack of illustrations; such as do occur (drawn with a camera lucida) are hideous and tend to give false impressions.

In Part V, 'Hereditary and Race,' Hooton has made a praiseworthy attempt to summarize the principles of genetics, and to base his racial analysis thereon, with only partial success, one feels. His classification is quite useful for descriptive purposes, but the origins suggested (e.g. that his 'Bushman-Hottentot Composite Race' is derived from 'Negrito+Palaeolithic Boskop+minor fractions of Bantu Negro and Hamitic Mediterranean in Hottentots') are of course open to question. The valuable review of characters used in racial studies includes much recent serological work. Part VI, 'The Anthropology of the Individual,' is based upon Sheldon's system of 'somatotyping.' However strongly one agrees that individual studies have been too long neglected, the impression received is that Hooton's acceptance of Sheldon's work has been somewhat uncritical, especially when Lessa's review of the subject of constitutional typology is considered. An Appendix is concerned with elementary

anthropometry, and is not recommended for the inexperienced novice; e.g. large errors are likely in measuring head height by the method depicted.

For all its weaknesses, detectable by thoughtful reading, the book must still remain an invaluable general work of reference, and a stimulating, if at times difficult, introduction to the fascinations of physical anthropology.

D. F. ROBERTS

**Is Evolution a Myth?** By D. Dewar, L. Merson Davies and J. B. S. Haldane. London (Watts & Paternoster Press), 1949. Pp. 92, Price 2s. 6d.

**213** Recent books on evolution have tended to concentrate on those biological factors which underlie phylogenetic change, and particularly on the interaction of natural selection and random genetic variation. A little earlier the emphasis was mainly on probable phylogenetic lineages, while still further back controversy raged as to whether evolution has, in fact, occurred at all. There are still some writers who deny its occurrence.

In *Is Evolution a Myth?* a very distinguished scientist and evolutionist, Professor J. B. S. Haldane, F.R.S., debates this general issue with a well-known anti-evolutionist, Mr. Dewar, supported by Lt.-Col. Davies. The last two are, as it were, Counsel for the New Zealand branch of the Evolution Protest Movement in the plea that the weight of evidence is against the proposition that 'existing animals and plants, and also mankind, are descended from simple forms of life.' Professor Haldane defends the thesis on behalf of the Wellington branch of the Rationalist Association.

Professor Haldane requires no introduction to an audience of scientists. Mr. Dewar is, according to *Who's Who*, a barrister who once served in the Indian Civil Service, and who has contributed to the literature on the natural history of Indian birds.

Col. Davies opens the discussion by submitting that as no 'unbroken genetic connections between existing creatures and their supposed ancestors' can be demonstrated, the theory of evolution is 'a piece of Natural Philosophy,' or an 'attractive or probable theory' rather than a piece of natural science, which, he thinks, consists only of 'clear and demonstrative knowledge.' Haldane counters that, since it is legitimate to infer that living creatures of unknown parentage did, in fact, have parents, it is equally likely that animals which are now preserved as fossils also had forbears, although neither case can be proved by direct observation. Davies denies the validity of this proposition, and it is apparently on this point that he rationalizes most of his doubts about evolution.

After thus defining their 'scientific' philosophy, Dewar and Davies present examples from geology, morphology, palaeontology, animal behaviour and the geographical distribution of animals which, in their opinion, cannot be reasonably explained as being due to gradual evolutionary change from simple forbears. Haldane counters each example in turn and argues that all can, in fact, be explained on the basis of a theory of evolutionary change due to the interaction of natural selection and genetic variability—and he also shows that in some cases transitional forms are available which bridge morphological and other gaps.

The book contributes little that is new to evolutionary thought, and one has no conviction at its end that Professor Haldane has succeeded in converting his opponents. He deserves, however, the thanks of other scientists for finding the time to engage in the discussion. His contribution focuses attention on the scientifically accepted fact that most if not all the findings of morphology and palaeontology can be explained in the light of modern theories of evolution. That Mr. Dewar and Col. Davies are apparently not convinced by this most important of biological generalities is hardly likely to prevent further progress in the exploration of the phenomena which come within its scope.

E. H. ASHTON

**Yearbook of Physical Anthropology, 1948 (Vol. IV).** Edited by Gabriel W. Lasker and Frederick P. Thieme. New York (Viking Fund), 1948. Pp. 217, illus.

**214** Maintaining the usual high standard of the Viking Fund Yearbooks, this volume is devoted to reporting the proceedings of the Fourth Summer Seminar (1949) on Physical Anthropology, and reprinting a short selection of important articles that appeared during



the year (e.g. Sergi's description in MAN of the Saccopastore and Monte Circeo fossils, and Huxley's paper on variation in the eruption of the first six permanent teeth). The Seminar was on this occasion concerned, first, with the significance and relationship of the

Australopithecine finds, Straus and Zuckerman expressing doubt, based on metrical analysis, of more widely held opinions reached on morphological grounds; secondly, problems relating to the American Indian were discussed.

D. F. ROBERTS

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Beginnings of Food-Production.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 54

**215** SIR,—There seems to be a kind of game played in your correspondence columns which is not always comprehensible to your foreign readers. Lord Raglan roars at some person. Then it is that person's turn to twist his lordship's tail. I am not exactly sure of the rules, but I have just been roasted at.

The roar came in Lord Raglan's short and otherwise favourable review of my *Prehistoric Men*. I am accused of claiming a growth of 'civilization' in India, independent of Iraq and Iran. I did no such thing. In a paragraph with the sub-title 'More Than One Case of the Food-Producing Revolution,' I say: 'There is also a chance that rice was first cultivated in eastern India or Malaysia, and there may have been an independent revolution there.' I believe it was perfectly clear in the text that I was not talking about 'civilization.' The latter is a word which I carefully expressed my understanding of, somewhat later in the book, but was not bold enough to define. 'Civilization,' in any useful sense of the word, and the beginnings of food-production mean two different things to me.

Lord Raglan also queries how we may 'know' (my italics, originally) that the American Indians discovered food-production for themselves. I can only answer that we know it only within such bounds as one may know anything in archaeology—by an examination and weighing of evidence. I am conscious that there are conflicting opinions in the matter, just as I am conscious that there are conflicting opinions over whether the people of Britain are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes. However, I am convinced that a consensus of opinion of qualified Americanists (both in my country and abroad) would hold that we do know that the American Indians developed food-production on their own.

What's the next play in the game?

ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Note

Correspondents must play first; the rules, in accordance with the principles of inductive science, are made afterwards.—ED.

**Pygmieogeranomachia and Nilotenstellung.** Cf. MAN, 1950,

**216** SIR,—I write with reference to the last paragraph of Mr. Fagg's review of Lindblom's *The One-Leg Resting Position*. Is not Homer's story of the battles between pygmies and cranes more likely to be a garbled version of the bushmen's well-known hunting of ostriches than to be due to a nickname conjectured to have been given to Dinka by travellers in Africa at a date when the survival of pygmies in contact with them is itself at best conjectural?

J. H. HUTTON

St. Catharine's College, Cambridge

Note

The reviewer adds the comment given below.—ED.

Professor Hutton's alternative explanation has much force, but perhaps involves a presumption of greater 'garbling,' since in Homer (*Iliad*, Book III, lines 3-6) it is the cranes who do the hunting. Moreover, 'the Libyan ostrich' was well known to the Greeks at least from Herodotus onwards, under the name of *στρούθος* (a word curiously used by the Greeks for both the ostrich and the sparrow—in which latter sense it was known to Homer); and it is, I take it, possible that 'Homer's' simile does not date from before the Pisistratean recension.

Unless we are to assume that Homer's *Πύγμαροι* have no connexion with the pygmies now to be found in Central Africa, but are a figment of his or an earlier imagination, the occurrence of the word would seem to be strong presumptive

evidence of the survival of pygmies within travelling distance of the Mediterranean up to that time. Perhaps the bushmen survived there too; I have seen steatopygous bushwomen, of unmistakable physiognomy, occurring as individual sports in the 'pagan' areas of Northern Nigeria. But at the present time pygmies in groups occur very much farther north than do bushmen in groups; the Belgians and the French are constantly identifying new communities (some more, some less assimilated to the surrounding tribes) on both sides of the River Congo.

To call tall men 'cranes' (after the one-legged stance) would seem no greater a stretch of the poetic licence than to call short men 'no taller than a man's fist.'

**Anthropological Publication in Nazi Germany.** Cf. MAN, 1948, 111

**217** The Hon. Editor of MAN very much regrets that owing to an oversight no earlier reference has been made in MAN to a letter received in September, 1948, from Professor Dr. R. Thurnwald (writing from the American Sector of Berlin) following the appearance of Mrs. L. Bohannon's review of *Völkerkunde von Afrika*, by H. Baumann, R. Thurnwald and D. Westermann (Essen, 1940), in the August issue of that year. In this letter Dr. Thurnwald quoted evidence to show that he was by no means in sympathy with the National Socialist régime and that he had, for example, assisted Jewish students at some personal risk. His references to the censorship of scientific publication, besides being relevant to the point raised by the reviewer, will no doubt be of general interest also to those who have occasion to make use of German works published between 1933 and 1945:

After my return [to Berlin at the end of 1936, after six years' absence abroad] Professor Westermann invited me to collaborate in the book *Völkerkunde von Afrika*. I had completed my part by about 1938. At that time I had no experience of the censorship procedure. The manuscript, and later the proofs, were sent to various departments if any important political implications were considered to be involved, as I learnt later on. Parts I and II were not in any way 'political,' but my part, dealing with the adaptation problem as handled by different nations, was so considered.

Later I was informed that the Nazi officials were absolutely free to delete or insert words or passages. This happened not only to me but also to Professor Westermann in another book. It also happened to me with a paper which I had read and in which I had mentioned the missions; by chance I found a note on a sheet, which I still have, to the effect that all mention of the missions must be suppressed; the text appeared in its distorted form and there was no possibility of correction by the author.

After learning of this practice, I refrained from further writing for the Nazis. I had thought it impossible that the censorship could be handled in such a manner. We had all been taken by surprise, by lies and by terror.

While it must be made clear that a reviewer cannot be fairly criticized for judging a book on its visible merits as distinct from external considerations which can only by chance be known to him, the Hon. Editor is nevertheless very glad to give publicity to Professor Thurnwald's explanation, and to record the sympathy which must be felt in this country for those German anthropologists, not themselves blameworthy, whose writings were thus distorted in the course of censorship to the detriment of their reputations. Such writers, and indeed all who survive or escape from totalitarian tyrannies over science, might well wish to be able to publish a complete list of the specific passages in their writings which are to be discounted on these grounds.—ED.



## Royal Anthropological Institute

### CURL BEQUEST PRIZE

The Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute announces that it will (subject as mentioned in the Rules for the time being governing the competition for the above prize) again award in 1951 and thereafter every year the Curl Bequest Prize for the best essay by any competitor upon the results or analysis of all or any anthropological work carried out or published during the period of ten years preceding the year in which such essay is submitted and/or the history of some useful line in anthropology during that period.

Until further notice the rules governing the competition are:—

- (1) Essays shall be submitted not later than 30th April each year.
- (2) They shall be in typescript in English, French or German.
- (3) Essays shall be in literary form and not in the form of bibliographies or catalogues.
- (4) The length of an essay shall not exceed 25,000 words or be less than 10,000 words.
- (5) The decision of the Council of the Institute or of such officers of the Institute as the Council may from time to time appoint for the purpose of judging the respective scientific merits of the essays submitted shall be final as to the best essay and upon all other questions arising in connection with the essay competition.
- (6) If, in any year, there shall be no essay which, in the opinion of the Council of the Institute or of the officers of the Institute appointed for the purpose under the last preceding rule, is of sufficient scientific merit to deserve the award of the prize, then no award shall be made in that year. The amount of the prize available for that year shall be retained by the Institute and added to the prize in any later year, in which there shall be at least two essays which are adjudged of sufficient scientific merit to deserve the award of the prize.
- (7) If in any year there shall be two or more essays which are judged of equal merit and scientific value and worthy of the award of the prize, then the amount available for the prize in that year may be divided.
- (8) The winning essay or essays shall be read at the last meeting of the Institute in December or at the first meeting in January of the following year.
- (9) The winning essay or essays shall be published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* or, at the discretion of the Council, may be published under its direction in the same style as the other publications of the Institute, or in both these modes.

The prize offered for the winning essay in 1951 is £50. Intending competitors should forward their essays before 30th April, 1951, to the Hon. Secretary, Royal Anthropological Institute, 21, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1., to whom inquiries should also be addressed.



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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

# A KAJAMAN TOMB POST FROM THE BELAGA AREA, SARAWAK

(a, b) Tomb post (klirieng), said to be that of Tuloi and to date from c. 1875, in the jungle close to the house of Lasah (Kajaman); estimated height 35 feet. (c) Klirieng standing in the grounds of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching. (d) Typical Kenyah-type shield as used by Kajang; from Baram River. Photographs: E. R. Leach



# A KAJAMAN TOMB POST FROM THE BELAGA AREA OF SARAWAK \*

by

E. R. LEACH, M.A. (CANTAB.), PH.D. (LOND.)

**218** The carved pillar shown in Plate Jc has stood for many years in the grounds of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching. It is a *klirieng* or tomb post from the Upper Rejang River. The human remains which it originally contained would have been held in a jar either inserted into a cavity at the top of the pillar or in a box-like superstructure, and the whole would originally have been surmounted by a stone slab. So far as I am aware this is the only object of its kind in museum care. No detailed illustrations of this or any other closely related structure appear to have been published previously.

The present paper serves as a commentary upon the photographs reproduced in Plate Ja and b. These show a more elaborate specimen of *klirieng* still surviving *in situ* on the left bank of the Rejang River, a mile or so above Belaga, close to the present Kajaman house of Lasah.

## Context

The population of the Upper Rejang River appears in the literature under a variety of tribal titles—Kayan, Sekapan, Kajaman, Lahanan, Punan Bah among others.<sup>1</sup> Though differing in dialect and minor cultural attributes the various groups in question have close political affiliations. The last four groups named above are all numerically small, consisting of from two to six long-houses apiece. Collectively these four groups and certain others call themselves Kajang<sup>2</sup> and claim a distant kin affiliation with the Kayan.<sup>3</sup> Many of the earlier accounts refer to the whole group indiscriminately as Kayan.<sup>4</sup> In Hose and McDougall's classification the Kajang group would rate as Kelamantan.<sup>5</sup> The Sekapan and Kajaman sub-groups in particular are said to have linguistic affiliations with the Kanowit of the Middle Rejang and the Oya Melano of the coast. No detailed ethnographic study of any Kajang group has yet been made.

Throughout the Upper Rejang area the mortal remains of distinguished aristocrats—but not of commoners—are finally interred in elaborate wooden structures above ground. Two main types of structure, the *salong* and the *klirieng*, can usefully be distinguished, though intermediate versions also occur. Neither type is strictly peculiar to any one cultural group, though the distribution of related objects is different. Structures of the *salong* type (fig. 1) have been reported mainly from east-central Borneo; specimens have been illustrated by Bock<sup>6</sup> (Long Wai, Kenyah), Lumholtz<sup>7</sup> (Long Pelaban, Kenyah), Hose<sup>8</sup> (Belaga area, Upper Rejang, Sekapan) and others. Structures of the *klirieng* type (Plate J), on the other hand, are

reported mainly from the Baram and coastal regions of Sarawak.<sup>9</sup>

## Description and History

The Kajang *klirieng* differ from analogous tomb posts in the general style of the carving and in the feature of having a heavy stone slab surmounting the whole structure. Ling Roth, citing Low, gives a good description of the type and shows a sketch based on a model in the Sarawak Museum.<sup>10</sup> The description is derived from a diary published by Low in 1882,<sup>11</sup> which seems to relate to a visit to the Upper



FIG. 1. 'SALONG' TYPE TOMB

At the house of Lanyen (Punan Bah), Upper Rejang River. Constructed about 1946

Rejang made in 1878. At that time a number of impressive *klirieng* and *salong* were standing intermingled at a site near the junction of the Pila and Rejang rivers.<sup>12</sup> Low identifies these tombs as all belonging to the members of a single aristocratic lineage, that of Dian Bato, chief of the Kayan sub-tribe of Uma Levurieng. The following quotation is from Ling Roth<sup>13</sup>:

The *salong*, as it is called, is a Kayan institution and foreign to the River Rejang. The *klirieng* on the other hand is indigenous. The former is a miniature house of ironwood, built upon piles of the same material, with a single chamber large enough to contain the coffins of the chief, his brothers and sisters, his family and their families. The *klirieng* is either a single or a double pillar, carved from top to bottom, with niches up its sides for the bodies of slaves and followers, and hollow at the top to receive the jar, which contains the bones of the chief for whom it is raised. The pillar is covered with a heavy stone slab . . . It was formerly the custom to drive the principal post into the earth through the body of a living captive or slave, a custom still in force in some parts.<sup>14</sup> A Kajaman double *klirieng*, the best in all Baloi, has the following dimensions:

\* With Plate J and three text figures



the pillars are carved from top to bottom and capped with a ponderous stone slab; they are both the same height and stand 32 feet above the ground. The girth of one is 11 feet 7½ inches, that of the other 6 feet 11¼ inches.

The photographs for Plate *Ja* and *b* were taken in 1947 on the occasion of a very brief visit to the house of the present Kajaman chief, Lasah. Originally this *klirieng* must have stood in the open, but when photographed it was buried in dense jungle. Dimensions were not recorded and indeed, in the gloom of the forest, the details of the top of the structure were difficult to distinguish. The box-like object at the top of the carved pillars was said to contain the bones of the deceased. The top of the whole structure was so overgrown with ferns and lichen that it was impossible to verify whether the slab was (as was stated) made of stone or merely of wood. In either case the erection of this mausoleum must have been a formidable undertaking.

Plate *Ja* was photographed in two sections by means of a panorama mounting, so that there is considerable foreshortening of the upper section. I estimated the total height of the structure at the time as about 35 feet.

The Kajaman chief Lasah and his brother, the Sekapan chief Puso, made the following claims regarding this *klirieng*: (a) that it was the finest *klirieng* in all Baloi, (b) that it was 80 to 90 years old, (c) that it was older than the *kubu* (the Government 'fort' at Belaga, built, I believe, about 1888), (d) that at the time of its erection slaves had been sacrificed in the proper manner and that this was the last occasion upon which this had been possible (owing to Government intervention), (e) that it had required a thousand men to raise the pillars and the stone slab, and (f) that it was the tomb of the Kajaman chief Tuloi.

Now Tuloi is a historical character. He was chief of the Kajaman at the time of Low's visit in 1878. His younger brother Sebuang, who is also mentioned in the early records, was still alive in 1947 and was introduced to me; he was said to be nearly 100 years old. Lasah, a Sekapan by birth, is Sebuang's adopted son. Although Sarawak Government officers appear to have visited the area periodically from 1863 onwards, regular administration seems to date from 1888. Boasting apart, the erection of the monument must have called for a formidable assemblage of manpower, such as would have been difficult after the start of regular administration. The claim that Tuloi is buried in it gives no clear indication of date, since Tuloi may have had the pillars prepared during his own lifetime with a view to his ultimate burial.<sup>16</sup>

In all there seems to me a reasonable probability that the *klirieng* illustrated in Plate *Ja* and *b* is the one mentioned by Ling Roth (citing Low) and that it was therefore in existence before 1882.

#### Decorative Treatment

Comparison of Plate *J* with the model sketch illustrated by Ling Roth will show the degree of overall standardization in the general design. In the specimen discussed here the most striking feature of the carved decoration is the mask-like figure shown in Plate *Jb*, which was described to me as an *aso*. This properly means 'dog' and in this area

there is a wide class of flat-surface decorations called 'dog patterns' (*kalang aso*) which at times are recognizably dog-like<sup>16</sup> (fig. 2). The *klirieng aso* motif is not closely related to this theme, but is a relief version of the familiar mask face of Kenyah shields (Plate *Jd*). Hose<sup>17</sup> summarizes the characteristics of this pattern as follows:

The principal feature . . . is . . . a large conventionalized outline of a face with large eyes, indicated by concentric circles in red and black, and a double row of teeth with two pairs of canines projecting like huge tusks. This face seems to be human, for, although on some shields there is nothing to indicate this interpretation, in others the large face surmounts the highly conventionalized outline of a diminutive human body, the limbs of which are distorted and woven into a more or less intricate design.<sup>18</sup>



FIG. 2. DOG-PATTERN MURAL

Native name: *kalang aso*. Height of pattern as shown c. 4 feet 6 inches. From the house of Lanyen (see fig. 1)

Nieuwenhuis points out that the same motif characterizes a wide variety of 'spirit masks' (*geistermasken*), said to have been used in peace-making ceremonies and other rituals.<sup>19</sup> The theme is also employed in the decoration of houseposts (fig. 3) and items of furniture.<sup>20</sup>

#### Practical Function of Decorative Treatment

The particular treatment of the mask motif in this *klirieng* has functional as well as æsthetic merits. The erection of memorials of this kind was a mark of the prestige and influence attaching both to the individual and to the village concerned. Jamuh, writing of the former Melano practice, illustrates very well the element of boasting involved.<sup>21</sup>

Considering the size and weight of the poles . . . large numbers of men, including slaves, must have been engaged . . . The owner of the pole, therefore, incurred heavy liabilities in food and other payments. . . . Once the selected tree had been felled, there was no question of stopping until everything was finished, owing to fear of bad omens, and because the owner would incur undying shame if the work was only half completed—there would be much talk about his rank, how he must lose status, and how he pretended to have wealth which he did not in fact possess. . . . Having taken the log to the chosen site . . . a working shed is built for carpenters and carvers. During this time the owner is frequently complimented by others of rank, and passers-by. He shows pride in being ready to expend his wealth in this way, and to show his respect—to the dead and to his loved ones; and to himself too!—in the erection of this monument.



The size of the memorial was an index of manpower resources, the lavishness of the decorations an index of wealth—but not merely in terms of outright expenditure. The 'wealth' of the population of this area used to consist, in the main, of such things as brass gongs and old Chinese bowls and it was customary to display as much as possible of this property in the form of tomb decorations.<sup>20</sup> Hence the *aso* design in Plate Jb has the practical function of a sort of display cabinet. The eyes of the monster served to carry large brass gongs, the nostrils and other sundry bosses scattered about the design carried smaller gongs, inverted bowls, plates, etc. A number of these were still in position in 1947 and can be distinguished in Plate Ja. In Plate Jb it will be noted that though much of the carving is very precise, the eyes have been carelessly worked; this is because these flat surfaces were originally covered by gongs to form protruding eyes.

### Regional and Tribal Design Differences

Although this *klirieng* is the property of a Kajaman it does not follow that the carving was also executed by Kajaman, since in any one area there is an interchange of technical experts between the different 'tribal' communities. For example the *salong* in fig. 1 and the mural in fig. 2 both belong to the Punan Bah house of Lanyen, but the work in both cases was said to have been carried out by Kenyah from Long Nawang (Apo Kayan, Dutch Borneo).<sup>23</sup> This point is of some importance since earlier



FIG. 3. 'SPIRIT MASK' ON HOUSE POST

From Lasah's house (see Plate J), 1946. This carving formed part of special decorations added to the house in prospect of a visit from the Governor General, the Rt. Hon. Malcolm Macdonald.

authorities, notably Hose, tend to exaggerate the extent to which it is possible to distinguish the artifacts of different tribal groups simply on the basis of design characteristics. Such differences of material culture as do exist between one

part of central Borneo and another tend to have regional rather than 'tribal' significance.

### Associated Cultural Behaviour

No attempt will be made here to examine the sociological context of these structures apart from noting that the mortuary rites of aristocrats in this area undoubtedly were intimately associated with an elaborate system of head-hunting and human (slave) sacrifice. Recent papers by Jamuh<sup>24</sup> and Schärer<sup>25</sup> concerning the Melano and the Ngadju systems of slave sacrifice respectively both contain data relevant to the Upper Rejang situation.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Ling Roth, Vol. I, pp. 16, 37; Baring Gould and Bampfylde, p. 18, note.

<sup>2</sup> Sarawak Government Order L-2 (Land), 1931, Schedule B, in which the Kanowit of the Middle Rejang are also classed as Kajang along with the Tanjongs of the Tatau River.

<sup>3</sup> Baring Gould and Bampfylde, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Brooke, Vol. II, chapter 6.

<sup>5</sup> Hose and McDougall, Vol. II, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> Bock, pp. 79, 227.

<sup>7</sup> Lumholtz, Vol. I, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Hose and McDougall, Vol. II, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> Hose and McDougall, Vol. II, pp. 34f.; Jamuh, *passim*; Ford, pp. 77-84 (this last is an intermediate type).

<sup>10</sup> Ling Roth, Vol. I, p. 147.

<sup>11</sup> See under References.

<sup>12</sup> A few miles above the Pelagus Rapids; cf. Brooke, Vol. II, pp. 269f.

<sup>13</sup> Ling Roth, Vol. I, p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> The Kajang theory is that the spirit of the deceased slave was able to help in raising the post; cf. Jamuh.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Jamuh's article.

<sup>16</sup> Hose and McDougall, Vol. I, p. 235.

<sup>17</sup> Hose and McDougall, Vol. I, p. 165.

<sup>18</sup> See illustration in Hose (1926), p. 86.

<sup>19</sup> Nieuwenhuis, Vol. II, p. 241f.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>21</sup> Jamuh, pp. 64f.

<sup>22</sup> In the *Sarawak Gazette*, 2 September, 1895, it is reported that the Leppu Anan, then living near the headwaters of the Belaga River, had pleaded with the Government for the remission of a fine on the grounds that Dayaks had burnt and plundered their graveyard and in consequence they had no gongs with which to pay! Hose and McDougall (Vol. II, p. 36, note) state that 'among the Klemantans it is usual to spoil all articles hung upon a tomb.' This does not seem to be true of the Kajang peoples discussed here.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Manis, who reports on the case of Anyi, a Kelabit craftsman-artist who improved and elaborated his native skills as the result of a visit to the Bahau Kenyah.

<sup>24</sup> Jamuh, 1949.

<sup>25</sup> Schärer, 1938 and 1940.

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## PICTOGRAPHIC WRITING IN THE WESTERN SUDAN\*

by

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**219** When, in 1948-49, I was carrying out research on divination by means of the jackal (*yuruqu*) among the Dogon, I came to the conclusion that the pictographs used in this form of divination amounted to a system of writing, and ventured to suggest a connexion between some of these signs and certain of the 'runes' of the ancient Hindu alphabet.<sup>1</sup> In January, 1950, I again visited the uplands of Bandiagara and gave further study to these divining tablets; my investigations showed that the pictographs which the diviner uses when disposing his 'augural theme' in the sand are indeed true hieroglyphs. According to the diviners, writing (*totongonyon*) originated in divination.

\* With two text figures. Translated by William Fagg, with considerable assistance from Mme Solange de Ganay, through whose good offices the article was communicated.

Similar inquiries which I made among the Bambara showed that they also have a system of writing, but that its use is more widespread among the population than the Dogon system. Whereas among the Dogon the interpretation and the method of writing the signs are known only to a small section of the community, there are extremely few Bambara who are not familiar with the direct symbolism of signs. Moreover, the Bambara system is used in giving instruction, by way of proverbs or moral maxims, to the newly married, or to recall certain distinguishing features of objects, diseases, etc.

Among both these peoples, however, each pictograph stands, in the first place, for an inanimate object, a living being, a natural phenomenon, or an abstract quality. Each sign has at the same time a varying number of secondary

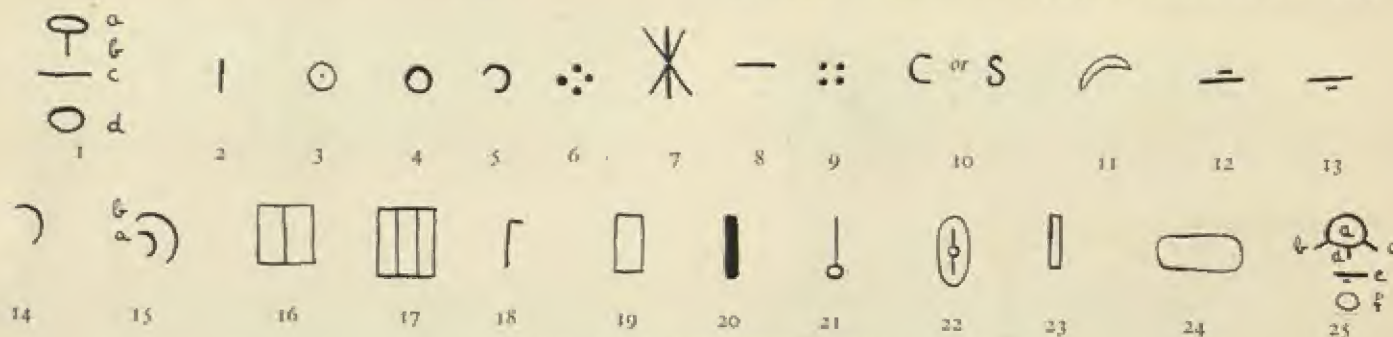


FIG. 1. SOME DOGON PICTOGRAPHS

(1) (a) The sky, (b) rain, (c) a field of corn, (d) the harvest; (2) a road, a journey, the covering of the dead; (3) drought; (4) the sun; (5) the moon; (6) a star; (7) the world or universe; (8) a tomb; (9) the jackal, or any quadruped; (10) a sickness in progress; (11) a future sickness; (12) a gift to be made; (13) a gift not to be made; (14) a dwelling; (15) the lunar month (a) waxing, (b) waning; (16) a granary; (17) a garden; (18) an axe; (19) a canoe; (20) a river; (21) a staff; (22) a man's garment (bubu); (23) a woman's garment (skirt); (24) a mat; (25) the person, (a) the head, (b, c) the legs, (d) the genitalia, (e) the mouth, (f) a dish of food. No. 7 may be compared with the identical Bambara sign (No. 1 in fig. 2) and also with the 'rune' hagall in the ancient Hindu alphabet.

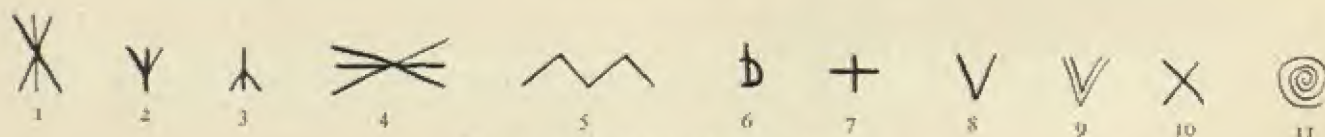


FIG. 2. SOME BAMBARA PICTOGRAPHS

(1) The world or the universe in movement; (2) man, the male, the masculine principle; (3) woman, the female principle; (4) sickness, death; (5) the sun's movement, the year; (6) the dya, or immaterial double of a human being; (7) the four cardinal points, the 'quadrigenous' principle; (8) the ear, a tooth, speech; (9) a forked stick (the centre post of a Bambara hut); (10) fertility; (11) creative motion. No. 2 may be compared with the 'rune' madr, No. 3 with the 'rune' yr. No. 4 is constantly found engraved on the hafts of knives, referring to their destructive nature. No. 5 is explained by the author in 'La notion d'écliptique chez les Dogon et les Bambara du Soudan Français,' *Africa*, Vol. XX, Part 4 (October, 1950). For the concept of 'quadrigenous' (No. 7), see S. de Ganay, 'Notes sur la théodicée bambara,' *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, Vol. CXXXV (Paris, April-June, 1949) and the author's article quoted in Note 1.



meanings. But whereas the direct meaning is intelligible to the greater part of the community using the signs, the secondary meanings are known only to a comparatively small number of people. This might be regarded as an example of esotericism, but I should say that it is less a question of the degrees of initiation reached by members of the community than of the gradations of knowledge itself, on more and more refined levels, the highest accessible only to outstanding intellects.

This capacity of a single sign to evoke more than one idea derives partly from the non-phonetic character of the signs, and partly from the fact that each of the ideas represented can be viewed as a component part of some other idea, and this in its turn of a third and so forth. The correlation between things (including natural phenomena, etc.) and beings is carried over into the pictographs which stand for them.

In figs. 1 and 2 are given some examples which I collected of Dogon and Bambara pictographs respectively, with their meanings.<sup>2</sup>

These few specimens of Sudanese pictographs open perspectives into a whole tract of almost virgin territory in the culture of these peoples. My contention that the signs are a form of writing will hardly be gainsaid: writing consists essentially in the communication of thought by means of conventional signs, and the pictographs of both the Dogon and the Bambara serve to convey thoughts from one writer to another, or from writer to lay public.<sup>3</sup> These characters form, therefore, the elements of a definite, if peculiar, system of writing; a Dogon divination can be 'read' just as well as a page in a book, and the moral sayings inscribed by the Bambara blacksmith on a wooden dish or on a calabash are legible by almost any adult and even by children.

One of the most remarkable features of this form of writing is that the idea to be conveyed by a sign is yielded not by its direct meaning alone, but also by the symbolical meaning attached to it. For example, a bowl among the Bambara may bear the sign for 'ear,' but no one could grasp the idea which the writer intended to convey unless he were familiar with the symbolism associated with the ear. Moreover, the reference is not to the ear in general, but specifically at the moment when a woman first enters the home of her parents-in-law, and therefore to conjugal peace and happiness. Thus the sign stands for: 'A newly married woman should not give ear to everything that is said in her husband's house.' So the idea conveyed by one of these conventional signs is a function of the sign itself, and this in its turn is a function of the situation referred to, as well as of the object on which it appears (and perhaps, too, of the material of which the object is made).

Moreover, a sign may have different direct meanings in different geographical areas, especially as a result of local variations in religion and mythology. What is a secondary meaning in one place may often become the chief meaning in another, although represented by the same sign. Thus, the pictograph whose direct meaning in one place is 'the ear', may represent elsewhere 'a tooth' or 'speech.' Often, again, two or more people in a single region will interpret

a given character differently, according to their psychological differences. Besides, my inquiries among the Bambara so far show that at one time nearly every political area had its own system of writing, though certain signs were common to several of them. But these features of Sudanese pictographs do not in the least disqualify them from being treated as a system of writing. On the contrary, the variety of meanings—which are by no means fortuitous or indiscriminate—tends only to enrich the signs. The meanings are, for the most part, grouped under a given sign by some underlying affinity: 'ear,' 'tooth' and 'speech' are intimately linked by the fact that all three play their part in the concept of sound. Such are the complexities of writing in the Sudan.

A correct reading of these pictographs calls for an understanding of Dogon and Bambara culture at a high spiritual level. And we can be correspondingly certain of apprehending Negro ways of thought in the most intimate way possible when we can 'read' them directly from their pictorial expressions. In all probability, many of the well-known rock paintings of the Dogon are capable of being interpreted with no less precision than the inscriptions on the temples and public monuments of ancient Egypt. We shall have taken a great step forward in the understanding of the African when we can bring the evaluative methods of modern science to bear on the firm evidence of written documents.

I should be very glad to know of any other pictographs of the kind I have described, or indeed of any kind, which may be known to research workers in other parts of Africa.<sup>4</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See D. Zahan, 'Aperçu sur la pensée théogonique des Dogon,' *Cahiers Internat. de Sociol.*, Vol. VI (April-June, 1949), p. 133, note 54. In this form of divination, the signs are marked in the sand by the diviner according to the question addressed to him (this is the 'augural theme' referred to in the following sentence); a few ground-nuts are placed on the sand and the footsteps of the jackal, coming in the night to eat them, make connexions between the signs; next morning the diviner, without touching anything, forecasts the future from the connexions set up between the signs.

<sup>2</sup> I have recorded a great many other similar pictographs among the Dogon and Bambara (and also among the Fulbe and Mossi) and intend to publish them in a later work. The select Dogon signs reproduced here are confined to those traced in the sand with the finger by the diviners; taken together, these pictographs form a system of writing, but it is far from being the only one used in this community. The Bambara designs in fig. 2 are copied from utensils in my own collection, acquired in the Ségou area. I am continuing research on a large number of signs used by Bambara diviners, or traced at the time of various rituals on cult objects, hut walls, etc., to record the story of the creation, of social institutions, of society in general, etc., and I find it best to concentrate on those which occur on objects in common use, since the collected objects then form a kind of guarantee of the authenticity of the signs.

<sup>3</sup> Dogon signs are universal in the sense that they are not peculiar to a particular diviner, but are a recognized part of the divining technique. This is, of course, still more so among the Bambara, the signs being made for the whole community.

<sup>4</sup> The *nsibidi* writing of the Ekoi and Ibibio of south-eastern Nigeria is remarkably similar in general character, though apparently somewhat more elaborate (see P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, 1912, pp. 305-9 and 447-61); the well-known script



invented in the Cameroons by King Njoya about 50 years ago may also be compared (see, e.g., O. G. S. Crawford, 'The Writing of Njoya,' *Antiquity*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 435-42, quoting H. Labouret, 'L'Écriture Bamoun,' *Togo-Cameroun*, April-July, 1935, pp. 127-33); and 'writing' of comparable purpose takes three-dimensional

form in the brass gold-weights, illustrating proverbs, of the Akan-speaking peoples, as well as in the wooden message discs, with proverbial scenes in relief, of the Lower Congo. Mention should also be made of J. Joffre and T. Monod, 'A New West African Alphabet, used by the Toma, French Guinea and Liberia,' *MAN*, 1943, 85.—ED.

## SHORTER NOTE

### U.N.E.S.C.O. on Race

**220** On 18 July the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization made public 'the most authoritative statement of modern scientific doctrine on the controversial subject of race that has ever been issued.' The press release summarizing the statement goes on:

The statement sets forth the conclusions of an international panel of scientists formed by U.N.E.S.C.O. to define the concept of race and to summarize the most recent findings in this field which the world's biologists, geneticists, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists agree are established scientific facts.

After a seven-point summary (in which some of the issues are notably over-simplified) it concludes:

The original statement was drafted by Ernest Beaglehole, New Zealand; Juan Comas, Mexico; L. A. Costa Pinto, Brazil; Franklin Frazier, United States; Morris Ginsberg, United Kingdom; Humayun Kabir, India; Claude Lévi-Strauss, France; Ashley Montagu, United States. The text was then circulated by Professor Montagu and revised after criticisms by Professors Hadley Cantril, E. G. Conklin, Gunnar Dahlberg, Theodosius Dobzhansky, L. C. Dunn, Donald Hager, Julian S. Huxley, Otto Klineberg, Wilbert Moore, H. J. Muller, Gunnar Myrdal, and Joseph Needham. This statement therefore constitutes the most far-reaching and competent pronouncement of its kind ever made and provides a scientific foundation for some of the basic principles expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The statement itself appeared on its face to merit consideration by British physical anthropologists, for (although physical anthropologists by no means predominated on the drafting committee) its main thesis—that there is no biological foundation for racial prejudices—is essentially a statement in physical anthropology. Copies of the full text were immediately obtained from the Ministry of Education and circulated to the following British physical anthropologists for their observations: Professors Le Gros Clark, Fleure, Harris, Dr. Osman Hill, Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. Morant, Miss Tildesley, Mr. Trevor and Professor Zuckerman. Most of these replied at some length, and their comments made it perfectly clear that certain passages in the statement were far from commanding universal agreement; none was ready to give unqualified assent to it. It was felt that some statement should be made by the Institute and a letter was drafted, in the light of the views received, and sent to *The Times* on 24 July; it expressed cordial agreement with the purpose and essential thesis of the document, but pointed out the controversial character of certain views, for example,

... the too simplified statement that 'race is less a biological fact than a social myth'; the proposal that the phrase 'ethnic group' should be substituted for 'race' in ordinary speech; and the concluding statement that man is born with biological drives towards universal brotherhood and co-operation, to which surely very few anthropologists anywhere would yet venture to commit themselves.

Pressure on space, however, prevented publication of this letter, and an abridged version, without these examples, was accordingly sent on 12 August and published on 15 August.

It had meanwhile been decided, as a contribution to securing the firmest possible expression of agreement among anthropologists on the subject, to publish the full text of the document in *MAN* and to invite British (and other) anthropologists to send their detailed observations to the Hon. Editor for publication in following issues. It is felt that a briefer statement, on which the chief anthropological societies, representing nearly all the world's physical anthropologists, could agree, would be of much greater effect than the present document in combating racial prejudice, and the Royal Anthropological Institute (whose own origins in 1843 were closely connected with the anti-slavery movement) will assuredly wish to make a full contribution in this cause. It may be that the fourth meeting of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences projected for 1952 will furnish a suitable occasion for 'the most authoritative statement of modern scientific doctrine on the controversial subject of race that has ever been issued.'

The full text follows.

#### STATEMENT BY EXPERTS ON RACE PROBLEMS

1. Scientists have reached general agreement in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*. It is further generally agreed among scientists that all men are probably derived from the same common stock; and that such differences as exist between different groups of mankind are due to the operation of evolutionary factors of differentiation such as isolation, the drift and random fixation of the material particles which control heredity (the genes), changes in the structure of these particles, hybridization and natural selection. In these ways groups have arisen of varying stability and degree of differentiation which have been classified in different ways for different purposes.

2. From the biological standpoint, the species *Homo sapiens* is made up of a number of populations, each one of which differs from the others in the frequency of one or more genes. Such genes, responsible for the hereditary differences between men, are always few when compared to the whole genetic constitution of man and to the vast number of genes common to all human beings regardless of the population to which they belong. This means that the likenesses among men are far greater than their differences.

3. A race, from the biological standpoint, may therefore be defined as one of the group of populations constituting the species *Homo sapiens*. These populations are capable of interbreeding with one another but, by virtue of the isolating barriers which in the past kept them more or less separated, exhibit certain physical differences as a result of their somewhat different biological histories. These represent variations, as it were, on a common theme.

4. In short, the term 'race' designates a group or population characterized by some concentrations, relative as to frequency and distribution, of hereditary particles (genes) or physical characters, which appear, fluctuate and often disappear in the course of time by reason of geographic and/or cultural isolation. The varying manifestations of these traits in different populations are perceived in different ways by each group. What is perceived is largely preconceived, so that each group arbitrarily tends to misinterpret the variability which occurs as a fundamental difference which separates that group from all others.

5. These are the scientific facts. Unfortunately, however, when most people use the term 'race' they do not do so in the sense above defined. To most people, a race is any group of people whom they choose to describe as a race. Thus, many national, religious,



geographic, linguistic or cultural groups have, in such loose usage, been called 'race,' when obviously Americans are not a race, nor are Englishmen, nor Frenchmen, nor any other national group. Catholics, Protestants, Moslems and Jews are not races, nor are groups who speak English or any other language thereby definable as a race; people who live in Iceland or England or India are not races; nor are people who are culturally Turkish or Chinese or the like thereby describable as races.

6. National, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups: and the cultural traits of such groups have no demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits. Because serious errors of this kind are habitually committed when the term 'race' is used in popular parlance, it would be better when speaking of human races to drop the term 'race' altogether and speak of *ethnic groups*.

7. Now what has the scientist to say about the groups of mankind which may be recognized at the present time? Human races can be and have been differently classified by different anthropologists, but at the present time most anthropologists agree in classifying the greater part of present-day mankind into three major divisions, the Mongoloid, the Negroid and the Caucasoid. The biological processes which the classifier has here embalmed, as it were, are dynamic, not static. These divisions were not the same in the past as they are at present, and there is every reason to believe that they will change in the future.

8. Many sub-groups or ethnic groups within these divisions have been described. There is no general agreement upon their number, and in any event most ethnic groups have not yet been either studied or described by the physical anthropologists.

9. Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same. The scientific investigations of recent years fully support the dictum of Confucius (551-478 B.C.): 'Men's natures are alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart.'

10. The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, however, that the history of the cultural experience which each group has undergone is the major factor in explaining such differences. The one trait which above all others has been at a premium in the evolution of men's mental characters has been educability, plasticity. This is a trait which all human beings possess. It is, indeed, a species character of *Homo sapiens*.

11. So far as temperament is concerned, there is no definite evidence that there exist inborn differences between human groups. There is evidence that whatever group differences of the kind there might be are greatly overridden by the individual differences and by the differences springing from environmental factors.

12. As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless. In every human group a rich variety of personality and character types will be found, and there is no reason for believing that any human group is richer than any other in these respects.

13. With respect to race-mixture, the evidence points unequivocally to the fact that this has been going on from the earliest times. Indeed, one of the chief processes of race-formation and race-extinction or absorption is by means of hybridization between races or ethnic groups. Furthermore, no convincing evidence has been adduced that race-mixture of itself produces biologically bad effects. Statements that human hybrids frequently show undesirable traits, both physically and mentally, physical disharmonies and mental degeneracies, are not supported by the facts. There is, therefore, no biological justification for prohibiting intermarriage between persons of different ethnic groups.

14. The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering. It still prevents the normal development of millions of human beings and deprives civilization of the effective co-operation of productive minds. The biological differences between ethnic groups should be disregarded from the standpoint of social acceptance and social action. The unity of mankind from both the biological and social viewpoints is the main thing. To recognize this and to act accordingly is the first requirement of modern man. It is but to recognize what a great biologist wrote in 1875: 'As man advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into larger communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all the members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point being once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races.' These are the words of Charles Darwin in *The Descent of Man* (2nd ed., 1875, pp. 187-8). And, indeed, the whole of human history shows that a co-operative spirit is not only natural to men, but more deeply rooted than any self-seeking tendencies. If this were not so we should not see the growth of integration and organization of his communities which the centuries and the millennia plainly exhibit.

15. We now have to consider the bearing of these statements on the problem of human equality. It must be asserted with the utmost emphasis that equality as an ethical principle in no way depends upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment. Obviously individuals in all ethnic groups vary greatly among themselves in endowment. Nevertheless, the characteristics in which human groups differ from one another are often exaggerated and used as a basis for questioning the validity of equality in the ethical sense. For this purpose we have thought it worth while to set out in a formal manner what is at present scientifically established concerning individual and group differences.

(1) In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists can effectively use as a basis for classifications are physical and physiological.

(2) According to present knowledge there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same.

(3) Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences are not of importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of *Homo sapiens*, and that the social and cultural changes in different groups have, in the main, been independent of changes in inborn constitution. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type.

(4) There is no evidence that race mixture as such produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture whether for good or ill are to be traced to social factors.

(5) All normal human beings are capable of learning to share in a common life, to understand the nature of mutual service and reciprocity, and to respect social obligations and contracts. Such biological differences as exist between members of different ethnic groups have no relevance to problems of social and political organization, moral life and communication between human beings.

Lastly, biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood; for man is born with drives toward co-operation, and unless these drives are satisfied, men and nations alike fall ill. Man is born a social being who can reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point of this social bond between man and man brings with it disintegration. In this sense, every man is his brother's keeper. For every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main, because he is involved in mankind.



## REVIEWS

## AMERICA

**Plumbate: A Mesoamerican Ware.** By Anna O. Shepard. Publ. No. 573 of Carnegie Institution of Washington. Washington, D.C., 1948. Pp. 176, 42 text figs., and a map.

221 This is an important study of a very interesting ware which stands apart from other American pottery in several ways, notably in its vitrification, which has raised the question whether it is a true glaze otherwise unknown in American Indian ceramics. There has been much speculation as to the place of its manufacture, but now, as the author says, the archaeologist has become aware of certain Mexican traits which, in the light of linguistic evidence and traditions of Mexican migrations down the west coast of Guatemala into Salvador, are suggestive of the ethnical affinities of the plumbate potter. Also it has been possible to place the ware chronologically. Nothing however is known about the people who made it, nor even whether it was made by only one people. The name 'plumbate' seems to have been given from the leaden colour, or possibly from the presumed presence of lead in the glaze-like surface. The workmanship is frequently careless, more so than in most other types. There are some pottery marks. Several Mexican deities are represented, notably Tlaloc, Xochipilli and Xipe Totec. The author cites J. E. S. Thompson on the probable representation of Xiuhtecuitli. The incentive to copy must have been strong, but imitators lacked the unique plumbate clay and could not achieve the deception of the expert.

There is an interesting section of the book dealing with firing, from which it appears that it is not so simple a matter as had been thought to distinguish different effects due to firing. The most conspicuous physical qualities of plumbate are conditioned by the method of firing. Two distinct aspects must be considered, namely atmosphere and temperature. The temperature alone does not determine the colour or other features of the pottery. The geographical distribution of plumbate is very wide, reaching on the south to Nicaragua and Chiriqui, and on the north to Tepic, Nayarit, in Mexico, but the vast majority of plumbate vessels are found in central Salvador and in the highlands of Guatemala. Both a rare clay and a special firing technique were needed for production of the glaze. The uniformity of the paste indicates a single place of manufacture. The disappearance of plumbate has never been explained. Why should such a valuable trade be abandoned? Possibly the deposit of clay was exhausted or the plumbate-makers may have been driven out by invaders who never learned the secrets of its manufacture.

As to the chronology of plumbate, its occurrence with X fine orange ware in late deposits of Chichen Itza and in the Mazapan of Tula as discussed by Thompson in his scheme places it between 987 and 1204.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

**An Archaeological Reconnaissance in the Cozumalhuapa Region, Escuintla, Guatemala.** By J. Eric S. Thompson. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Contrib. Amer. Anthropol. and Hist., Vol. IX, No. 44. Washington D.C., 1948. Pp. 95, 28 figs., including map.

222 Very little is known about the pre-conquest inhabitants of the coastal area of Guatemala. Thompson says that Escuintla was the principal town of the western Pipil. The term Pipil is used in the early sources to denote the Mexican-speaking groups in Guatemala and El Salvador. The author is of opinion that in the area he describes the Pipil had formerly occupied a larger territory but had given way before some Maya groups, especially the Cakchiquel. He is justified in thinking that the boundaries of the peoples shifted considerably owing to wars. He rejects the theory that the Pipil were descendants of merchants sent by Ahnizotl, and considers the statement of Torquemada that they are descended from two groups, one being of Cholultecan ancestry which lived inland towards the sierras and whose descendants are the Nicoya of Nicaragua, while the other was composed of Mexicans from Anahuac living towards the coast whose descendants are the Nicaragua, i.e. Nicarao. These groups were

conquered by their old enemies the Olmecs about seven or eight 'ages' (lives of very old men) before Torquemada wrote. The various Pipil communities were probably offshoots from the Nicaragua. But it seems that the Nicoya were not so, and did not come from Soconusco at the same time, because they were Chortegán-speaking. Thompson says that previously he had considered that the 'life of a very old man' might refer to the 52-year cycle, and it is gratifying to me that he has now accepted a suggestion of mine that these 'ages' of old men (the kind who were taken out to sit in the sun because of their age) are really 'the old age' of the Aztec, by which they denoted a period of 104 years. On this revised calculation the migration would have been about A.D. 700-850. He gives an interesting account of the Pipil taken from Fuentes y Guzmán, from which it appears that they used the Aztec system of writing numerals. Fuentes y Guzmán illustrates a piece of wood said to mark the passage of time and the completion of the 52-year cycle and he adds that the glyph for the completion of the cycle was a bundle of thin sticks tied at the bottom—the usual Mexican symbol. Thompson thinks it probable that the ruling families of the Guatemala highlands might have been of Toltec descent, like the rulers in Yucatan. I do not think that Gavarrete's translation of the name Ichanhucue is correct, as it makes it a hybrid Nahuatl-Cakchiquel word. On the contrary it seems to me to be pure Nahuatl: *Ichān hucuehētl*, 'the old man's house' (lit. 'his house the old man'). No doubt 'the old man' meant is the old god, Hucuehētl.

Thompson then proceeds to examine the sculpture and glyphs and concludes that they are distinctly Nahuatl in character, not specially Aztec, but rather as in some of the Codices from Southern Mexico. Several Nahuatl day signs occur accompanied by numerals composed of dots which do not in any case exceed thirteen. In only one instance is an eight written by a bar with three dots. He is no doubt right in thinking that these are probably the names of persons born on these days. Exactly the same system of naming was used by the Cakchiquel and in the Codices of Southern Mexico. The Mexican gods Xipe, Ehocatl and Tlaloc are recognizable. So are the Mexican orders of eagles and tigers and there are several representations of human sacrifice. Thompson also treats fully of the artifacts and the pottery. Altogether we must thank the author for throwing new light on this region.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

**The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550.** By Robert S. Chamberlain. Publ. No. 582, Carnegie Institution of Washington. Washington, D.C., 1948. Pp. 365, 2 maps and 10 text figs. Price \$4.75 (\$5.50 in cloth).

223 The author has carefully examined many unpublished historical documents and gives a full and very interesting account of the Spanish conquest and subsequent colonization. Very full references are given in the notes and bibliography.

One surprising result emerges, namely that the famous battle of San Bernabé, although it was indeed fought on 11 June, actually occurred not in 1541 but ten years earlier, and was fought at Salamanca de Campeche and not at Mérida. The author shows by the contemporary *probanzas* of the soldiers who took part in it that the true date was 1531. It appears that Landa, and others after him, including Cogolludo, in some unexplained way fused the different phases of the conquest together, with the result that this substantial error in chronology took place. An interesting point mentioned elsewhere in the book relates to the date chosen by the Maya for their great revolt in 1546-47; a letter is quoted from Señor Juan Martínez Hernández regarding it in which he claims that the date selected is a confirmation of his correlation.

The author writes from a pro-Spanish standpoint. In the introduction he says that Montejo earns his place in the select company of Spanish conquerors with Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, Jiménez de Quesada, Alvarado and Valdivia. If all the official instructions are taken at their face value the conquests would appear to have been humane and beneficent operations. But much light is thrown on their real nature by the plentiful accusations and cross-accusations



made by the Spaniards against each other from which the terrible cruelties and treachery of the conquerors are disclosed. No one can doubt their courage and military capacity and their efficient methods of conquest and of subsequent administration, but there may be very great doubts as to the character of the conquistadores and the fate of the Indians. One may recall the complaint of the Chontal Indians, cited in this book, that Cortés had carried away the lord of the province and 600 burden-bearers and that neither the one nor the other had ever returned to their homeland.

The book is interesting and well written, but as the subject is entirely concerned with the Spanish achievements it contains very little of ethnological interest. RICHARD C. E. LONG

**The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel.** By France V. Scholes and Ralph L. Roys with Eleanor B. Adams and Robert S. Chamberlain. Publ. No. 560, Carnegie Institution of Washington. Washington, D.C., 1948. Pp. 565, 4 maps.

**224** The authors have done a valuable piece of work on a people about whom very little information has ever been forthcoming, although their name has been well known since the time of the famous march of Cortés across the peninsula to Honduras. The Chontal language has become extinct in this region and seems in part to have given place to the Maya language of Yucatan. It is therefore valuable for linguistic purposes to have in this book the facsimile of the Chontal text and Spanish and English translations of the only known Chontal manuscript, short though it is. The contents of the manuscript, too, are interesting historically as showing the career of the astute Chontal chief Paxbolon, who seems to have had considerable political wisdom, as he succeeded not only in keeping on good terms with the Spanish government and the church, but also had great influence among the Indians; during his long life he greatly extended his power and influence and retained the respect of everyone.

This book also gives valuable information as to the complicated problems of the exact situation of Acalan and the route followed by Cortés in his march. It also relates the interesting history of the missions of Las Montañas and the history of Tixchel until its destruction. As usual much light is thrown on the real effects of the Spanish conquest by considering the numerous legal and other documents. One can see how Spanish oppression and interference with the native mode of life caused a constant stream of fugitives who as 'apostates' took refuge in the forests. Over everything also is apparent the very rapid decline in population which reduced what had been a very flourishing region of Indian life, with a large population and a very active trade, to the condition of being almost without any native inhabitants. It is of course well known that the introduction of new diseases such as smallpox and measles has proved fatal to native races. The authors are doubtful as to whether malaria and also yellow fever, both of which proved very destructive, were likewise introduced by the conquest or whether they had always affected the natives. Unfortunately no definite information is available about either of these scourges, though perhaps the balance of probability is that they were introduced. However this may be, the cumulative effects of disease, of famine due to forcible removals of villages, and of excessive labour brought about the very complete ruin of the Indians.

This book is in every way a very fine piece of work and a valuable contribution to its subject. RICHARD C. E. LONG

**A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago.** By N. E. Gabel. Univ. of New Mexico Publ. in Anthropol. No. 4. Albuquerque, 1949. Pp. 94, 5 plates, tables, bibliog. Price \$1.50

**225** This study of the Papago, a tribe inhabiting southern Arizona and northern Sonora since, at latest, early historic times, is based upon a comprehensive series of observations made by the author in 1938 upon some 200 adult males working in the Indian Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps; he omits reference to any physical criteria governing this employ, but regards the sample as 'a fair cross section of the adult male population.' Seltzer's hitherto unpublished work on the Zuni, Yaqui, Hopi and Navaho affords comparative material.

Mr. Gabel attempts to describe the Papago by 'standardized anthropometric devices,' and a footnote refers to the use of Harvard

University anthropometric forms; no mention however is made of the technique used, the terminals, the amount of pressure, etc., nor is any reference given for his measurements. This omission undoubtedly diminishes the usefulness of what would otherwise have been a quite valuable paper. It is thus impossible to tell whether his comparisons with Seltzer's results are valid, and to assess the extent to which the constantly recurring differences between his and Hrdlička's results are due to technique. It is interesting to note that Gabel's measurements of Total Facial Height, Upper Facial Height, and Nasal Height are approximately 6 millimetres greater than those for the nearest of Seltzer's groups, and are also considerably greater than Hrdlička's corresponding measurements for the same tribes, which would seem to suggest enquiry into the location of the difficult upper terminal. Thirty-five measurements and indices are given, the number in the sample, the range, mean, S.D., and C.V. being quoted in each case, and numerous qualitative traits are observed, the classes being described verbally (skin colour is referred to the von Luschan scale).

He concludes

(i) that a number of significant physical differences, having 'a real racial meaning,' distinguish the Papago.

(ii) that an interesting geographical trend is observable in that there is a significant increase in non-Mongoloid physical traits 'as one proceeds from the Pueblo country, through Papagueria, to the home of the Yaqui.'

(iii) that the Papago 'represent a closer approximation to the earliest people in the Southwest than do the generality of its inhabitants.'

He suggests moreover, that the Papago are descendants of a refuge group of considerable antiquity, by-passed by the more Mongoloid later comers, as by the still later Europeans, probably on account of the inhospitable nature of their habitat.

D. F. ROBERTS

**Navaho Religion.** By Gladys Reichard. Bollingen Series. New York, 1950. 2 vols. Pp. xxxvi, 800, 23 charts. Price \$7.50

**226** These two elaborate volumes may be used to supplement the outline work of Kluckhohn and Leighton, of which, however, they are entirely independent.

The general position which is assumed may be summarized as follows. The Navahos or Navajos (the word is Spanish) call themselves *diné*, which means simply 'the people,' and are the largest Indian tribe in the United States. Indeed, strange to say, they are actually increasing, not diminishing in numbers, their present population being about 50,000, as compared with about 15,000 in 1868. They are therefore beginning to overflow the Reservation allotted to them, and have begun to attract a good deal of attention. Their origin is presumably much the same as that of other North American Indian tribes, i.e. migration from the Northwest, and they have a tradition of this. A seventeenth-century writer calls them 'the Apaches of the planted fields,' and they seem to belong fundamentally to the same stock as the Apaches, although their beliefs and customs differ. They came to the Southwest later than the Pueblo Indians, who would seem to have enriched the comparatively simple culture of the Navahos, and to have influenced them in the direction of an elaboration of their ceremonials. During their migrations they were hunters and collectors, but subsequently they discovered some sort of agriculture. They are not and never have been nomads, but after the Spanish-Mexican period they learnt the use of the horse, and so have acquired greater mobility. Today they are held together very largely by participation in their ceremonials, and by general acceptance of the supernatural background which is implied in them. Their religion in fact gives them cohesion, and integrates their life so effectively that they are more than resisting extinction by the white man. Very few have become Christian, and these have become dissociated from the main body.

What Miss Reichard has done is to make an intensive field study of *diné* religion, and especially of its use of symbols. Her first volume consists of three main divisions, Dogma (including mythology), Symbolism, and Ritual. The second contains a kind of glossary or concordance of the main terms and topics discussed in



these three divisions, and this is followed by reproductions of some of the more important of the famous dry paintings. In dealing with symbolism, she considers the very interesting abstract meanings attached to various colours and precious stones.

Of several outstanding problems, the first is: if the ancestors of the *diné* came into the American continent in the early neolithic age, and were isolated there, how much of their mythology and religious practices can they have brought with them? We are told that myths do not diffuse very easily, yet the predominant myth of the *diné* is of a female (Changing Woman) who was impregnated by the Sun, and then gave birth to Divine Twins. This can only mean (i) that a myth of Divine Twins was in some form existent among the ancestors of the *diné* before the immigration over the land bridge into the American continent, and was conveyed thither, or (ii) that it was picked up on the way, or (iii) that it was independently evolved after the migration, or again (iv) that it was introduced by colonists—in that case, by whom? One inclines to the feeling that the first is the most probable hypothesis, and this would make some kind of twin myth go back into the remote neolithic past. At the same time there is always the suspicion that some other extraneous material, not necessarily a twin myth, may have got into the Indian culture from Old Spain, just as it certainly did in Mexico. It would need a rather more thorough investigation than perhaps is now possible for anyone to find out whether the Spanish soldiery entering the Americas retained, beneath a veneer of Catholicism, a good deal of the old Mediterranean pagan folklore, which was caricatured by any Indian women its members happened to marry. There certainly seems evidence that the Catholicism of Portuguese peasants is to this day singularly syncretistic, just as the Greek Orthodox Catholicism of the Aegean peasants is; and it is known that young Navahos were taken as slaves to Santa Fé and other settlements, and that some of them returned to their own people, with the result that between 1626 and 1846 major alterations occurred in the Navaho way of living.

Secondly, what is the basis of the *diné* religion, whatever its origin, whether imported or evolved in isolation? It is a magical pluralism, founded on the experience of life as essentially very dangerous (drought and sickness being the two main dangers), and beset by a number of non-human powers which are not properly understood, and not fully rationalized. The local names and descriptions are peculiar to the area, but the general multi-personalizing of the supernatural is very much what occurs all over the world. Many questions which we should regard as essential are left unanswered. The cosmology is untidy and confused. Miss Reichard divides the pantheon of supernatural beings into seven groups:

- persuadable deities (with good motives);
- undependable deities (mischievous, and persuadable only with difficulty);
- helpers of deity and man (minor deities, but favourable);
- intermediaries between man and deity;
- unpersuadable deities (essentially evil monsters);
- dangers personified;
- minor supernaturals between good and evil.

Some of these are beings (possibly ancestors) that seem to have been euhemerized. Others perhaps never were human, and the names are often symbolical rather than actually descriptive—e.g. Salt Woman, Fringed Mouth, and Road-Runner. Miss Reichard is led to conclude that a sun cult is outstanding, and that many, if not all things, go back to the sun, not in the sense of monotheism, but rather of monism—a universal harmony or destiny, of which sun is merely the central agent. Changing Woman may possibly be a female manifestation of the sun. Yet First Man and First Woman seem to be respectively manifestations of the sun and Changing Woman in the worlds below this, and in some versions of the creation myth First Man was the Creator. It is all very contradictory and perplexing, and if we can assume that Miss Reichard has understood her informers correctly, it suggests either an ill ordered conflation of Christian and non-Christian dogmas, or the native-bred mythology of confused minds. Two things Miss Reichard regards as certain. First, that the Navahos, unlike the Apache and other Indian tribes, have no specific belief in a personal

immortality. To what is this due? And is she right? Second, the Navahos have a strong sense that natural forces are stronger than man, and that it is foolish and presumptuous to interfere with their workings. They do not hope to master these forces. The most they expect to do is to influence them with songs and ceremonials. The persuadable deities will take care of them, if they do as these deities direct, and if they employ the proper magical techniques which these deities have taught them. One's natural reflection upon all this is: what can possibly happen to a people with such an intellectual background, when their birth rate is causing them to spill over the boundaries allotted to them by the state?

The third problem concerns the entire complex of *diné* sacred objects and ceremonial. Its elaboration is what staggers us. Here is a relatively small Amerindian community where the meticulous directions as to what should be done and how it should be done vie with those in the Brahmanas. The whole structure can be analysed (Miss Reichard does it) just as one analyses a language into sounds, grammatical forms, and meanings. Yet a speaker of the language may be unaware of the possibility or necessity of such an analysis. So a Navaho may be quite unaware of the possibility of analysing his intricate ritual, which works upon him as a totality, inculcating associations by a lifetime of continuous habitation. There are all sorts of niceties and refinements in the pattern of the ceremonies, such as (i) alternations and variations in colour, colour sequence, ornament (stripes or dots), and singing (such as two choruses singing alternately), (ii) reversals of sequence, usually to exorcise evil (these occur in Christian processions as well), and (iii) negation or restriction. The capacity to memorize and the knowledge of detail required by a leader or chanter in a ceremony must be immense, and accuracy, as is usual in such matters, is rigidly prescribed. A great deal is said about 'prayer sticks,' which is apparently a generic name for any symbolic objects having ritual value, but even now very little seems to be certainly known as to their full significance. They may be pieces of crystal, or flat boards, or feathered sticks, and they may be talking prayer sticks, invocatory prayer sticks, or just prayer sticks. Some are clearly symbols of communication with a deity, and as one Indian told Miss Reichard, are 'as good as written invitations.' She adds: 'To interpret the prayer sticks and know which to choose, one must become thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of each deity.' Then there is the most important item of dry painting, which is not always done with sand, but often with pollen, which has a strong supernatural meaning in *diné* religion. The obvious preliminary point is that dry painting arises in a milieu where water is scarce, so that it is inconvenient to use it as presumably the Aurignacians did, and as some Australians still do, to mix the pigments for their rock paintings. But then comes the more vital question: what does the actual work of art achieve? (There are said to be more than five hundred possible traditional paintings.) The answer would seem to be suggested by Miss Reichard's sentence on p. 152 of Vol. I: 'Since supernatural occurrences must be recapitulated, it is important to set the stage for every rite: therefore place is an outstanding symbol.' Sometimes the drawing indicates linear arrangement of figures. Sometimes the lay-out is circular, with the most sacred spot in the centre, and perhaps with ladders indicating a transition from one world of being to another. Even the time of a supernatural happening may be indicated by such symbols as blue sky or evening light. In other words, the dry painting is the re-presentation of the setting in which some supernatural event took place, and is designed so as to connect the original event with the lives of those present at the ceremonial, either in order to cure the sick or to invigorate the whole. That this is so is, I think, demonstrated by the use made of the completed painting. The sick person to be cured is laid upon it, and so laid within a supernatural area (it is as good as incubation in the temple of Aesculapius). The relatives walk across the painting, treading where the feet of the supernatural beings have trod. Thus all concerned enter into communion with the supernatural beings and derive power from them. The painting is an effective extension of time and space, and therewith of the power originally manifested at a particular spot on some particular past occasion. Like the prayer sticks, it is a bridge between two worlds. The chants (some hundreds of them) which are intoned have a similar



purpose, and are, as no doubt in the case of the original Sumerian and Vedic hymns, stylized sound invocations of supernatural power. It would seem unnecessary to require diffusion to explain these practices. Man is capable of developing them anywhere (with local variations) if he goes on long enough. The association of abstract ideas with colour is only another example of this. The colour preferences of Navahos (and equally those of Mexicans) have probably not the very least connexion with the Christian use of liturgical colours. Galton's *Enquiries into Human Faculty* shows, I think, that it is just the way all human minds work, if left to themselves. The centre of interest in *diné* religion is in the welfare and general physical wellbeing of the people, not in any sense of divine purpose. The world around is not sufficiently unified to the Navahos for them to understand such an idea, nor does it seem to have been sympathetically presented to them. Yet they adhere to their religion because it seems to secure for them the results they seek. For instance, it is found that the psychological effect of supernatural ceremonies performed for them by a bevy of loving relatives, often at considerable expense (in addition to yucca baths and a certain amount of massage), is more powerful in restoring health than treatment in a state hospital where one is simply a unit. Some of us who have begun to endure a national health service may be disposed to sympathize with them.

This book is a monument of patient field observation undertaken with the utmost pains, and it is beautifully produced.

A. C. BOUQUET

**The Bella Coola Indians.** By T. F. Mcllwraith. Toronto (Univ. of Toronto Press), 1948. 2 vols., pp. xxii, 763 and xii, 672, 46 plates. Price \$15.00

227 Prof. Mcllwraith's monumental account of the Bella Coola is perhaps the most comprehensive monograph on a North-West Coast tribe, and adds significantly to our ethnographic knowledge of the area. The book was written between 1924 and 1926, but publication was long delayed because Professor Mcllwraith wished to present the account in its entirety.

In his preface Professor Mcllwraith states that he intended this work to be a description of aboriginal Bella Coola culture rather than a comparative or theoretical study. He adds that he modelled his field techniques on those of Rivers, Seligman and Haddon; he tried to have the Bella Coola accept him as a friend, to make them 'his people'; he made more effort than most American ethnographers to dispense with interpreters; he checked all statements with as many informants as possible. He was faced, however, with the inevitable difficulty of reconstructing a dying culture—that one must rely on verbal statements to the exclusion of observations of actual behaviour. Moreover, when one concentrates entirely on reconstructing the old culture one perhaps misses an excellent opportunity for dealing with culture contact, social change and the problems of minority status—problems which could be studied by direct observation of all age groups as well as by interviewing the old.

It is unlikely that any monograph is 'purely descriptive'; one is always guided by some principles in the selection of data. Professor Mcllwraith seems to have been most interested in the potlatch, secret societies, and in religion, of which he gives exhaustive accounts. If any cultural aspect is slighted, it is perhaps the economic, for one is not shown the interweaving strands of competition and co-operation in the processes of production, distribution and exchange, nor is one told whether chiefs, commoners and slaves had different roles in the productive process or whether they were merely status groups using wealth as a symbol of status. When one knows so little about the organization and co-ordination of economic activities it is difficult to sort out the relative contributions of individual initiative, membership in a large family and leadership ability in making a man wealthy, nor is it easy to tell how much actual social mobility there was in the old system. Professor Mcllwraith states that the Bella Coola had been subjected to white influence for so long that it was impossible to make any valid statements about their former economic activities.

The student of kinship will perhaps be distressed by the lack of a systematic presentation of data on behaviour among kin in

various social situations, the exact composition of different types of household and the relative strength of kinship bonds as opposed to those of rank.

Professor Mcllwraith states that if he were to conduct his field study at the present time he would pay less attention to ceremonial details and more to the theoretical and comparative implications of the facts recorded. In any case, he has presented a graphic and comprehensive account of the religious and social ideas of the Bella Coola.

ELIZABETH J. BOTT

**The Wolf and the Raven.** By Viola E. Garfield and Linn A. Forrest. Seattle (Univ. of Washington Press), 1949. Pp. ix, 151, 22 illus. Price \$3

228 Students of primitive peoples will find much to interest them in this book, which deals with the Indians of British Columbia and Alaska, a disappearing aboriginal people whose carvings probably possess more virility, character and individuality than do those of any similar people. The quality of their early craftsmanship is suffering seriously owing to the ravages of the weather and of vegetation.

Examples of this wood sculpture were being rapidly scattered among numberless private individuals and municipal authorities and would in a very short time have been beyond the range of considered study. Much credit is due to the United States Forestry Service which has been most assiduous in collecting and restoring many of the remaining examples, the work often being done by descendants of men who had actually carved the originals; for without this conscientious effort it would have been impossible to have created the present valuable collection.

Woodcarving, in which they excelled (although they carved slate and bone as well), seems to have been a talent of practically everyone, and their great totems, sometimes approaching 50 feet in height, have a brusque artistic quality, telling the story of tribe and clan and family, unparalleled in any other peoples; their house posts, their grave-markers, their boxes, all representing in more or less allegorical form beasts, birds or fishes (the wolf and the raven being particularly prominent), the frog, the beaver and even the oyster on occasion, are other forms taken by their art.

These totem poles were not objects of worship; they were rudely carved, coloured with rich pigments made from native materials, and told stories in picturesque graphic language easily read by anyone acquainted with the lore of these people. Some of the carvings are symbolic reminders of quarrels, murders, debts and unpleasant occurrences regarding which the Indians normally maintain silence. A considerable number of these poles have been collected and repaired, and in other cases faithful reproductions of special ones that no longer exist have been fashioned.

The authors of *The Wolf and the Raven* have produced an absorbing study abundantly illustrated and have brought their record forward at an appropriate time, for probably more people are now studying folklore and the work of the world's primitive peoples than for many years. Dr. Viola E. Garfield who procured, edited and arranged the material in the book already has to her credit several books on the Northwest Indians, and Mr. Linn A. Forrest had official charge of the totem-pole restoration project, including the selection and removal of these old carved pieces, and of arranging them and re-erecting them in new Parks. Altogether this story is a fascinating and valuable contribution to existing knowledge of these skilled and ancient people and is recommended as a truly authoritative, scientific and artistic treatise.

ALFRED C. BOSSOM

**The Negro in the United States.** By E. Franklin Frazier. New York (Macmillan), 1949. Pp. 767, bibliog. Price \$8

229 American Negroes have probably been documented more fully than any other single racial or cultural group in the world. Their sociological bibliography already far exceeds volume size and, judging by the steady spate of books, articles, and M.A. and Ph.D. theses, no one can possibly accuse the Americans of not taking their race problem seriously.

It should, therefore, be no mean compliment to remark that within its own terms of reference Dr. Frazier's volume is



outstanding as a compact and scholarly study of Negro sociology. He has produced it after some 25 years' continuous and painstaking consideration of what after all—a society of some 14 million people—is a very vast and complicated canvas, and the result is a remarkably well written and penetrating analysis. The various sections deal with the historical background of the Negro's present position, problems of racial conflict and accommodation, social institutions and associations, and problems of adjustment to the wider cultural situation in the contemporary United States. As a teacher of many years' experience in Negro colleges, Frazier is particularly well equipped to speak about Negro intellectual life and leadership, and his discernment of the kind of social values and goals pertaining to the upper strata of Negro society shows a nice regard for historical perspective and structural context. Of Negro higher education, he writes as follows:

'The emphasis upon other than educational values has been aptly called "detours in the education of the Negro." One of these "detours" is the notion that Negroes need a particular kind of "moral" education. Negro college heads even more than white college heads place the development of "moral" character above intellectual development and efficiency. Without giving any thought to the mechanism by which any college can develop moral character, whites approve this emphasis in Negro schools because it fits into their prejudices. It has the approval of the segregated Negro community which is more concerned with the symbols of status than with real scholarship and learning. A real scholar is still an oddity in the segregated Negro community since his behavior is at variance with the style of living of the upper class with which he is generally identified.'

Frazier's exposition of social stratification is less effective, probably because he has been obliged to rely very largely upon a rather heterogeneous assortment of criteria among available material. The

result is a rather arbitrary set of classifications and descriptions which are objectively impressive but do not yield a very satisfactory idea of the more subtle implications of status from the Negro's own point of view. It would be interesting to know, for example, how far and to what degree a lighter complexion holds good as a status characteristic throughout all sections of Negro society.

As the author correctly says, the real 'problem' of the Negro is the problem of integration into American society. Here, in conclusion, we are provided with a helpful analysis of the various social factors at work—the movies, the radio, higher education, new forms of employment, new technological forms of industrial organization, etc. The Negro is being integrated first into those areas of American life involving secondary, as opposed to primary, contacts. In the south also this is progressively the case; but even in the north there is little evidence that he is gaining acceptance in institutions or associations where contacts are more intimate or personal. There is also the potential resistance of those Negroes whom the existing segregation actually favours in social and economic ways.

Frazier's final summing-up is optimistically inclined to see Negro integration following a new organization of American life in relation to certain principles and values—'human freedom and human equality'—which are becoming dominant in the world today. Whether such principles and values are, in fact, morally as well as politically so instrumental is, perhaps, still rather a moot point; but in my opinion Frazier is certainly correct in presuming that the racial problem is becoming less important as it becomes part of problems arising out of conflicts of economic and class interests in American society. Therein—if one may merely add a rider—lies the sociological significance of the Negro's increasing acceptance by the more liberal and radical labour groups, as well as by intellectual and artistic groups. It suggests that what we should next ask for, and have long awaited from students of the American racial problem, is a study of the Negro considered fully as a sociological function of American society.

K. L. LITTLE

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Beginnings of Food-Production.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 54 and 215

**230** SIR,—If any are to be compared to the British Israelites it is surely those who claim to 'know' things which, to scientists, cannot be more than highly probable.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

**Shaving off the Eyebrows as a Sign of Mourning.**

**231** SIR,—In one of the round barrows behind Winterslow Hut, Wiltshire, there was a secondary Late Bronze Age cremation with unburnt human hair associated. Recent analysis of a sample of this hair by Dr. J. L. Stoves, M.Sc., showed that it was from the eyebrows; the sample seems to have been representative of the rest, and the total quantity of hair is more than could have been obtained from the eyebrows of one individual. It therefore seems likely that the hair had been shaved from the mourners as a sign of grief. It is of interest to note that a bronze razor (Mrs. Piggott's Class I) was associated with this interment. (*Wilt. Archaeol. Mag.*, Vol. LII (1948), pp. 126f.)

The late Mr. Frank Stevens drew attention to the shaving of the eyebrows as a sign of mourning among certain Eastern peoples at the present day (*ibid.*, p. 127), and there are also instances of cutting off the hair as a mourning custom, notably among the Digger Indians in North California (*J. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. III, p. 530). I should be glad to learn of any other instances of this custom, whether prehistoric or modern.

L. V. GRINSELL

**False Bolas Stones.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 97

**232** SIR,—In connexion with Professor van Riet Lowe's 'discovery of great significance,' I think attention should be drawn to Mr. A. D. Passmore's paper on 'Hammerstones,' which appeared in *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, Vol. III, Part 3 (1920-21), p. 444, where he concludes that many of our

British 'hammerstones' should really be termed 'quern-rougheners.' He quotes a note by Mr. John Robertson of the Sudan Political Service, describing the preparation of a saddle quern by a woman in the Sudan, who 'bounced' a 'round pebble of about three inches in diameter' on the intended quern. He also quotes a description in MAN, 1911, 55, by Mr. R. H. Walker of the making of saddle querns at the southern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza by the same method of dropping spherical stones, which are described as being 'just the size of a cricket ball.' Mr. Passmore concludes by saying that he has watched the same process 'in another part of Africa.'

Another but related question arises: it is stated that in mediæval times (presumably in Britain) querns were regularly broken up, and it would be of some interest to learn whether any such practice is carried out in Africa at the present day.

In the collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society in Lewes there are a number of stone balls which appear to have acquired their shape as a result of battering, but which have been subsequently polished. Their use is unexplained; they are too spherical to have been used as hut-floor-polishers.

EDWARD PYDDOKE

*Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes*

**Corrections:** MAN, 1950, 182 and 195

**233** Through faulty preparation of copy, for which the Hon. Editor apologizes, the price of *The Feeding and Health of African Schoolchildren*, in the heading of article 182, was misread as '£' instead of '10s.', and the misprint was not noticed in the course of proof-reading, although the book was published in South Africa.

Mr. J. C. Trevor states that in the last paragraph of his letter on anthropological instruments (article 195) the date of Vol. II (N.S.) of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* should have been given as 1944, not 1943.



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(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



# XYLOPHONISTS AND DANCERS OF THE HOUSE OF IDEJERO

*Photographs by William Fagg, 1950*



# A YORUBA XYLOPHONE OF UNUSUAL TYPE\*

by

WILLIAM FAGG

*British Museum*

**234** The purpose of this note is to record, however inadequately, a form of xylophone using the earth as a resonator which I observed and photographed during a brief visit with Mr. Kenneth Murray, Surveyor of Antiquities, Nigeria, to the little-known region at the extreme south-west corner of Yorubaland, in the creeks around Badagry. This region should prove of exceptional interest to cultural anthropologists because of the complex but readily traceable effects of culture contact between the Yoruba and the Popo, with their more Dahomean material culture and institutions.

Beginning from the large town of Ado, eight miles south of the main road from Lagos to Porto Novo in Dahomey, we went with some difficulty by canoe by way of a beautiful creek to the substantial village of Owo, some four miles to the west as the crow flies. Whereas at Ado the normal pattern of Yoruba religious institutions is replaced, as though by fragmentation, by innumerable minor cults devoted to unfamiliar *orishas*, Owo has a flourishing Gelede society of the traditional Yoruba type organized in several branches, each with its large collection of typical masks and figures (though with exceptional emphasis on the phallus); however, at the end of an afternoon spent studying the Gelede, we came to a large compound called the House of Idejero (accented on the first *e*), an *orisha* otherwise unknown to us. The function of this cult appears to be like that of the Gelede and similar societies—promotion of the general wellbeing and fertility of the members and of the community as a whole.

To one side of the large open space in front of the compound could be seen the xylophone, or rather pair of xylophones, illustrated in Plate K *a-d*. When we arrived, the two players came forward and began playing for us,

\* With Plate K

accompanied by a third man beating an iron gong (*a, b, d*). Each instrument was constructed over a trench about six feet long, two-and-a-half feet wide and two-and-a-half feet deep; this was bordered on each long side by a log partly sunk in the earth and covered with a thick roll of grass, apparently as an insulator; across the trench, resting on the grass rolls, lay the keys, which were heavy planks of hard wood, held in place by pegs passing through loose holes into the logs beneath. The tenor or smaller instrument had eight keys arranged in a continuous row, and the player squatted on a low seat in front of them. The eight keys of the bass instrument were disposed in two groups of four at the sides of the player, whose legs hung free in the trench. I much regret that, having no musical training, I can give no details in musical terms of the instruments or of the sounds produced; these latter were, however, loud and resonant. In any case we had time only to take the photographs before continuing our return journey.

At this point, however, a band of fourteen devotees of Idejero issued from the compound and began a dance of some skill and spirit for our benefit (see Plate K *e, f*). They were of both sexes and all ages from small children to middle-aged men and women and all had the same coiffure, approximately the reverse of a monastic tonsure. They were accompanied not on the xylophones but by a separate orchestra of drums, basket rattles and gongs some 20 yards away. The dancers sang throughout the performance, which lasted several minutes.

The full-time services of at least one trained and fully equipped musicologist are one of the most urgent needs in the study of Nigerian traditional culture. The present photographs are published for their morphological interest and as an incentive to musically equipped anthropologists and other travellers.

## NOTES ON THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY OF THE WATEITA

by

A. H. J. PRINS

**235** The Wateita inhabit the mountain complex of Teita proper, Sagalla and Kasigao, which rises abruptly from the barren plains of southern Kenya. They are part of the North-Eastern Bantu group and fairly closely related to the Akamba on the one hand and the Nyika tribes (from whom, they say, they split off two or three centuries ago) on the other. Linguistically they form one group, within which one finds only minor variations

with the one important exception of the Wasagalla in the Sagalla and Ndara districts of the isolated Sagalla ridge. Of their dialect only have we any information, in Wray's little grammar and word list. Sociologically the Wasagalla do not stand apart.

Owing to the shortness of my period of field research<sup>1</sup> the information presented here is not complete, but it is, I believe, without serious mistakes. In the case of the term



wife, for instance, I am not sure whether it is the proper Kiteita term, as the word seems to be Kiswahili. My informants—and most male Wateita for that matter—spoke this *lingua franca* as well as their native Kiteita (or rather Kidabida,<sup>2</sup> as they call it—a term which, if used instead of Kiteita, would emphasize the difference from Kisagalla). Therefore I have my doubts about the term, though the concept covered by it seems to be right.

In a few other instances I present one term as serving for both address and reference, and though this might be correct it does not preclude the existence of another term, omitted by my informants, serving one of these purposes only. On the other hand, the fact that this presents a smaller number of terms of address than of reference among the Wateita need not necessarily lead to the conclusion that it is incomplete.

In the second ascending generation all persons of both sexes are grouped together under two terms only. They are either *wawa* or *ake*. This holds both for consanguineous relatives and for affines. The terms serve the purposes both of address and of reference. For a clearer definition one may add possessive words, as in *wawa wedu*, 'our grandfather(-mother)'; or if the sex needs a special indication one uses *wawa wa womi* for a male or *wawa waka* for a female in referring to a grandparent. This is not necessary in addressing people of this generation because of the standing rule that follows in the next paragraph. The plural of these terms is formed in a peculiar way, e.g. *weke wawa*, 'people-grandparent.' This is used when talking about the forefathers in general. Another concept, only slightly different, concerning the second ascending and earlier generations is covered by the term *aba wa kala*, pl. *weke aba wa kala*, 'father(s)-of-old.' The difference from *weke wawa* is twofold: it is a term for a male ancestor and it is used for forbears in one's own (patrilineal) lineage only.

Correlated with the second ascending is the second descending kinship grade. The terms are the same and they are used for the same wide category of people. The rule mentioned above governs the use of either the one term or the other. Opposite sexes use *ake*, the same sex *wawa*. The grandfather addresses and refers to his grandson as *wawa* and *vice versa*; and similarly the grandmother her granddaughter. The grandmother refers to and addresses her grandson as *ake*, and so does the grandfather his granddaughter, and *vice versa*.

Persons of the first ascending generation may be grouped into the following categories: (a) the males of one's own (patri)lineage; (b) the females of one's own lineage; (c) the females of one's mother's lineage; (d) the males of one's mother's lineage; (e) affines, i.e. the in-laws of one's own lineage and the wife's (or husband's) parents.

(a) The term of address for the first category is *aba*, or rather *abo* (accent on the ultimate syllable). Persons addressed as *abo* are father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, etc., and mother's sister's husband and his brothers. This clearly shows the fiction of a one-sided connubium between the patrilineages of mother's clan and father's (that is one's own) lineage or clan. In other words, all males from one's own (male speaking)

patrilineage must take wives belonging to one and the same—their 'bride-supplying'—lineage; and their own lineage supplies wives to a different one in turn. In a number of cases the fiction will cover the reality, and I suppose it once did so usually. But I found quite a number of cases where even indirect affines of this type, not belonging to one's own parent clan,<sup>3</sup> were addressed by this term 'father.' The term of reference for this category is *ndee*; or *ndeyo* if the man in question is the father of the man addressed.<sup>4</sup> In referring to one's own (classificatory) father one uses the word *aba*. The Wasagalla, according to Wray, have the older (?) notion of father in the sense of possessor, owner, in the sequence of *aba*, *tatio*, *tatie*, *tatietu*, *tatienu*, *tatiyo*, meaning respectively my father, your (sing.), his, our, your and their father.

(b) The second category, the females of this generation and this lineage, are both addressed and spoken of as *mama*, father's sister (and classificatory sisters?).<sup>5</sup>

(c) The term of address for the persons in the third group, that is for mother, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter, is *mao* (accent on the penultimate syllable). It is also used in referring to one's own mother. In referring to another person's mother, etc., one uses *mae*; or *mayo*, when addressing that particular mother's child. It corresponds to *ndeyo*. The parents together are referred to as *waja wabaa*.

(d) The mother's brother is addressed as *aka* and referred to as *mruta mao* or *aka*.

(e) Of the affines the parents-in-law are addressed as *mgosi*, wife's (husband's) father, and *mkeku*, wife's (husband's) mother.<sup>6</sup> These words are the usual denomination for old men (*wagosi*) and old women (*wakeku*) outside one's own lineage—and in so far as the people concerned are not yet in the status of leisure supposedly corresponding with the terms *wawa* and *ake*. Even men of one's own lineage might be addressed as *wagosi* (or, e.g., *wandu wose wagosi*, 'all you elders') if 'elders' is meant, but only when they are actually exercising authority. When it is used as a term of reference for parents-in-law, the possessive word is added, either in full, as *mgosi wangu*, 'my father-in-law'; or in a contraction, as *mkekwake*, 'her (his) mother-in-law.'

For the indirect affinal relatives no special terms exist. I suppose that the few instances of a father's sister's husband being called *abo* will represent the rule; and we might assume a usage of the term *mao* for the mother's brother's wife, unless she is classified as *mkeku*.

In terms of reference the position of a person within the kinship system is quite often specified; e.g. one can use *mumi mama*=father's sister's husband.

The first descending generation shows a classification into consanguineous males and females and affines. The descendants in the father's own lineage are for most purposes simply addressed and referred to as *wana* (sing. *mwana*). The singular, however, has more strictly the meaning of 'son,' in the classificatory sense. Its counterpart is *mwai* (Kisagalla: *m'chana*), 'daughter,' but also meaning 'virgin'; another term for daughter is *mfwa*. The plural *wai* may include—if used as term of reference—all female descendants, and so may *wanake wa waka*, 'children-his-



females.' This *wanake* (= *wana wake*) is the usual term when referring to somebody's children. All male descendants (and brother's male descendants) are classified (and specified as males) as *wana wa womi* or *wanake wa womi*.

The direct affines, son-in-law and daughter-in-law, are addressed as *ambango* and referred to as *muka mwana* (or *muka mwanwake*) and *mumi mwana* (or *mumi mwanwake*) respectively. The sons and daughters of one's sister (man speaking and woman speaking) are called *awnye* (pl. *wanyye*).

The own generation offers the greatest number of terms. First, the males of the own lineage: brother or father's brother's son are addressed as *mwamedu* (pl. *wamedu*), and referred to as *mrina* (pl. *waruna*)<sup>7</sup> or *mwaninyu*<sup>8</sup> when referring to the brother of the addressee.

For the females of the own lineage, sisters, father's brother's daughters, the same three terms are used indiscriminately, whether it is a woman or a man speaking. The most common term of address, between siblings only, is *tugo*.

A plural term of reference for father's brother's sons and daughters and own brothers and sisters if the former are included is *wakiwawo*. If necessary one might specify one's male 'brothers' as *wakiwawo wa womi* and the corresponding females as *wakiwawo wawaka*. No singular of the term exists. The widest translation is 'kinsfolk' in the sense of all living people of one's own generation within one's own lineage.

Another term, one of the few semi-descriptive ones, is *mwana wa mae*, if necessary further particularized by adding *wa womi* or *wa waka*, and thus only used by siblings, and moreover by children of the same mother only. It is a term of address and of reference, but only in certain cases.<sup>9</sup>

The word for husband is *mumi* and for wife *muka*, this being used in the form *mkake* as a term of reference. *Mumi* always stands separated and the term corresponding with *mkake* is *mumi wake*. However, there are two other forms only used for address. The wife calls her husband *alieoa*, the husband his wife *ulowolo*.

The in-laws fall into two groups, one being considered as forming a category with consanguineous relatives and the other, the direct in-laws, being a category of its own. A wife's sister's husband and husband's brother's wife, perhaps with their brothers and sisters again, are classified as brother and sister and consequently covered by the undifferentiated terms *mrina*, *mwamedu*, etc. (excluding *tugo*, but including *wakiwawo*). Husband's sister's husband and wife's brother's wife are considered strangers, no term existing for them.

The direct in-law's brother's wife (man speaking), wife's sister and husband's brother, sister's (woman speaking) husband on the one hand and sister's husband (man speaking), wife's brother, and brother's wife (woman speaking), husband's sister on the other, are at the same time addressed and referred to as *mlamo*. For the second group another term exists. My field notes indicate the use of *wifi* for sister's husband (man speaking), wife's brother, brother's wife (woman speaking) and husband's sister. I suppose that the older word is *mlamo*, as corresponding forms exist in other Bantu languages (*muramu*, e.g., in Kinyoro); *mlam* in Kisagalla and *mlamu* in Kiswahili have perhaps the narrower meaning, coexisting with *wifi*.

A last remark concerns the rather unexpected anomaly in the use of *mama* and *aka* among the Wateita as compared with the Akamba.<sup>10</sup> The latter use *mama* for 'mother's brother.' One might be inclined to postulate a corruption in either Lindblom's material or my own. If one tries to analyse the terms, a possible explanation of the Kidabida *mama* is 'the *mao* (less the suffix) in the lineage of our males;' not simply 'male mother' as apparently in the Kikamba *mama*. *Aka* correspondingly is 'the *aba* (less suffix) in the lineage of our females,' or rather, 'the lineage from which we take our wives.' The suffixes *-ma* (*-mi*) and *-ka* have a definite sex-determining sense.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgements are made to the Colonial Social Science Research Council, the Help Holland Council in London and the Kenya Government.

<sup>2</sup> Accent on the antepenultimate syllable, which is an exception, though it recurs in a few other cases. Sometimes it is spelt with a *w* instead of a *b*.

<sup>3</sup> I use 'parent clan' to denote the widest group of traditional patrilineal descent—there are only six in the tribe. Lineage is used for sub-clan, effectively exogamous, but being of arbitrary span-width.

<sup>4</sup> Contractions of the terms, and of the possessive pronouns, are very common.

<sup>5</sup> There may have been an older term for father's sister; cf. Kiswahili *shangazi* and Kinyoro *isenkati* (Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*).

<sup>6</sup> According to Bostock (*The Taita*), the husband's mother is addressed as *ambango*.

<sup>7</sup> If desired *mtini* or *mhaa* may be added for younger and older brothers, etc. respectively; or *wa waka* for female, *wa womi* for male. Apart from *waruna* another plural exists: e.g. *waja mrina wa waka*, 'his sisters.'

<sup>8</sup> It seems to be possible to use this term for children of father's sister too, though a man calls his sister's son not *mwana* but *awnye*.

<sup>9</sup> For children 'of the same womb' the word *kifu*, 'womb,' is never used.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 120.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee: Report on Some Egyptian Artifacts

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#### INTRODUCTION

Through the courtesy of the Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, some small

pieces of wire and copper bands from the First Dynasty tombs of Zer (Wadji), Sma and Mersekha (Smerkhet) at Abydos were examined with the object of checking a possible use of native copper, and to obtain some information as to the manner in which such delicate sections were made. These tombs were excavated by the late Sir Flinders Petrie for the Egyptian



Exploration Fund in 1900 and 1901 and are published by Petrie in *Royal Tombs I and II* (E.E.F. *Memoirs* Nos. XVIII and XXI, 1900-01). None of the fragments analysed is actually illustrated or described in Petrie's text. The spectrographic analysis is by courtesy of the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association. Dr. E. Voce, Metallurgist to the Copper Development Association, superintended the metallographic work and submitted the technical report which we now publish. To both Associations and to Dr. Voce the Committee expresses sincere thanks.

The following figures indicate that the copper bands have been worked down to an extremely thin section, and it was also noted that the bands are very regular in thickness:

- A.M. 1896-1908. E.1310 B. Tomb of Mersekha, Abydos, 1900. Thickness 0.7 mm. Width c. 8 to 10 mm.  
 A.M. 1896-1908. E. 1310 E. Provenance as E. 1310 B. Thickness 0.5 to 0.6 mm. Width c. 11 to 12 mm.  
 A.M. 1896-1908. E.1672. Tomb of Sma, Abydos, 1901. Thickness 0.5 mm. Width c. 11 mm.  
 A.M. 1896-1908. E.1678. Tomb of Zet, Abydos, 1900. Thickness 0.55 mm. Width c. 3 to 4 mm.

Oxide scale prevented measurement of thickness with complete accuracy, but it was possible to note that in all the specimens variation of thickness was extremely slight, being only of the order of 0.10 to 0.15 mm. Concerning the analysis, while the presence of a definite amount of gold and of a very small amount of silver may suggest the use of native metal, the presence of marked quantities of arsenic, antimony and lead (0.2 per cent. in each case) makes it almost certain that we are dealing with a copper of smelted origin. Antimony in quantities greater than a trace, although known, appears to be an unusual element in the early Egyptian coppers. Arsenic, in quantity up to about 1 per cent., is of quite frequent occurrence. Lead, as shown by analyses quoted by Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 1948, tables in appendix), while not common, is known from a number of specimens.

In considering the manufacture of the strip copper or bands, it is particularly interesting to note that in the case of the strips numbered E.1310 B, E.1310 E, E.1672 and E.1678 the material would appear to have been hot-worked during the early stages, presumably while the material was being forged down from a much heavier section. The subsequent manipulation carried out on the cold metal, with intermediate annealing, is the technique one would expect for metal of such extreme thinness. Unfortunately in the case of the narrow strip or band, No. E.1175, corrosion was so severe that interpretation was difficult, but it seems clear that the spines mentioned are in fact the remains of very small conically headed nails or rivets. As Dr. Voce points out, a very high degree of skill must have been required to make such small nails with the degree of accuracy attained. Drilling the strip for the nails must also have been a delicate operation, although in view of the high technical standard reached in the perforation of small stone beads, this part of the work would not have presented so much difficulty as that of making the nails.

H. H. COGLAN

#### REPORT ON EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN ARTIFACTS FROM EGYPT

The samples comprised a small collection of miscellaneous fragments of wire and strip from the tombs of Zet, Sma and Mersekha.

One piece of strip was analysed spectrographically and gave the following approximate figures.

Antimony	0.2	per cent.	Silver	0.005 per cent.
Arsenic	0.2	" "	Gold	present, probably not more than 1 per cent.
Bismuth	0.004	" "		
Cobalt	0.001	" "	Phosphorus	not detected
Iron	0.03	" "	Silicon	" "
Lead	0.2	" "	Manganese	" "
Nickel	0.01	" "	Zinc	" "
Tin	0.001	" "		
Tellurium	0.005	" "		

It is clear that the material was copper carrying a small quantity of gold as the chief additional element. This analysis is not necessarily typical of all the specimens.

A hardness-determination on the same sample gave 85-90 diamond pyramid numbers, indicating a slight degree of cold work, or the hardening of fully annealed material by the presence of elements other than copper.

Similar samples of strip numbered respectively E.1310 B, E.1310 E, E.1672 and E.1678 were examined micrographically. All were essentially wrought coppers containing cuprous oxide and other non-metallic inclusions in globules and small strings. The presence of the cuprous oxide and inclusions indicates that the metal had been molten in the early stages of manufacture. In most cases the form and distribution of the non-metallic particles suggest that the working operations were conducted hot, at any rate in the early stages, though subsequent manipulation was probably carried out on cold metal with intermediate annealing. Generally the final treatment was an anneal.

Specimen E.1310 B was comparable with a rolled and annealed tough-pitch copper of modern commerce. The grain size was moderate, while cuprous oxide occurred in well defined strings mingled with other non-metallic inclusions. Relatively little corrosion had taken place.

Though numerous minute non-metallic particles were present in E.1310 E, they were not arranged in strings in the section examined, which was parallel to the length of the strip, nor could they be clearly identified as cuprous oxide. The grain size was distinctly smaller than that of E.1310 B, and considerable penetrative corrosion had occurred from the external surfaces, mainly along the grain boundaries. The larger corroded crevices contained cuprous oxide.

In E.1672 the inclusions were markedly striated as in the case of E.1310 B. Some, but not all, could be recognized as cuprous oxide. The somewhat angular and shattered appearance of some of the particles suggested that most of the deformation had been applied while the metal was cold, with periodical annealing as necessary. Though 'flow lines' revealed the severity of the working operations, the final structure was that of a network of very fine recrystallized grains. Corrosion was not severe, but exhibited some tendency to penetrate along the grain boundaries.

The remaining strip, E.1678, contained much more cuprous oxide than any of the others examined. It occurred both in large globules and in strings of smaller particles. In the arrangement of these cuprous-oxide inclusions could be traced the distorted pattern of their original distribution as eutectic in the casting, from which it may be inferred that the degree of deformation was not very severe. Moreover, it is probable that the working operations were carried out cold, with intermediate annealing at temperatures insufficiently high to cause appreciable diffusion of oxygen through the copper matrix. It is only by hot working or by annealing at temperatures above about 800° or 900° C. that diffusion of oxygen through copper becomes sufficiently rapid to eliminate within a reasonable time the interdendritic network of eutectic which typifies the cast material.

Two samples of wire marked E.1682 were also examined, but these were so severely corroded that little useful information



could be obtained from them. They appeared to be composed of annealed copper relatively free from cuprous oxide and other non-metallic inclusions, but the few small areas of metal which could be studied may not have been typical of the whole.

Of more interest was E.1175, which consisted of a narrow strip set with a number of small pointed spines about 0.1 inch in length. Several sections were mounted and polished in an effort to elucidate the method of manufacture, but all were corroded sufficiently to make interpretation difficult. As far as could be judged

from the configuration of the corrosion products, however, the spines were the remnants of small conically headed nails or rivets passing through the strip and countersunk into perforated indentations in the latter. As it seems unlikely that copper strip could be pierced by such thin pieces of copper wire, it can be inferred that the holes were made with a tool of some other substance such perhaps as bone or even flint. The manipulative skill and patience required must have been considerable. The wires may, perhaps, have been longer than the stumps now remaining.

E. VOCE

## SHORTER NOTE

### Physical Anthropology at the Fifth International Anatomical Congress, Oxford, July, 1950. Report by Dr.

237 J. S. Weiner, Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford

The Fifth International Anatomical Congress was held at Oxford from 24 to 28 July under the Presidency of Professor Le Gros Clark, F.R.S., and was attended by over 500 members representing 36 countries. Honorary degrees were conferred on Viscount Addison, Professor Corner of the Carnegie Institute, Professor Woerdeman of Amsterdam and Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, Curator of the Coryndon Museum at Nairobi. In the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Science on Dr. Leakey tribute was paid to his great achievements as 'discoverer in the field and as exponent of archaeological finds.'

Three sessions of the Congress were devoted to physical anthropology and some twenty communications and demonstrations were presented. A large audience was present at the meeting at which Professor Zuckerman (Birmingham) maintained that a statistical analysis of the main dimensions of the teeth had failed to corroborate the view that the Australopithecinae were more hominid than ape-like. He cited the conclusions of Dr. W. L. Straus (Baltimore) that some of the limb-bone remains similarly failed to establish the human affinities of the South African fossils. Professor Le Gros Clark in controverting these views pointed to many hominid features in the skull, jaw and dentition, and particularly in the pelvic bones, which in his experience could not be matched in the skeleton of present-day apes. Individual and isolated measurements did not necessarily serve to reveal these morphological differences in total pattern. It was now up to the critics to validate their statistical methods by producing actual specimens of modern ape material which paralleled (or even closely approached) the Australopithecinae in the features which he (and they) had instanced, and in numbers comparable (as population samples) to the South African material.

Other communications dealt with topics ranging from speciation in monkeys to the problems of phylogeny in modern man. Mr. Ashton and Professor Zuckerman in an interesting study of the interbreeding monkey colony of St. Kitts which has been isolated for some 75 to 100 generations showed that these animals had diverged significantly from the parent stock in the dentition and size of jaws. Dr. Leakey gave a description of the environmental background of the East African Early Miocene in relation to the fauna and flora associated with his finds of *Proconsul*, *Limnopithecus* and other fossil primates. The morphology of the East African Miocene apes was described by Professor Le Gros Clark, who pointed out that they differed from modern representatives in being less specialized for tree-living and in exhibiting certain cercopithecoid characteristics. Dr. Madeleine Friant (Paris) compared the milk dentition of the anthropoid apes and man.

The demonstration arranged by Professor von Koenigswald (who was unable to attend the Congress) was important in its attribution of the Sangiran pithecanthropoid finds to a pre-Trinil and

Lower Pleistocene age and to a separate species, viz. *P. modjokertensis*, distinct from *P. erectus* which is considered as of Middle Pleistocene date. Dr. Oakley (British Museum) illustrated by a number of examples the applicability and limitations of the fluorine method of fossil-dating. The technique indicated that the Piltown remains, while geologically contemporaneous, could not be as ancient as the Lower Pleistocene. The test had confirmed the antiquity of the Swanscombe skull and did not contradict the Fontéchevade dating. It had removed the claims of the Galley Hill, Moulin Quignon, Baker's Hole and Bury St. Edmunds finds as contenders for a great Pleistocene antiquity.

Problems of racial differentiation in the phylogeny of modern man were discussed by Dr. Weiner (Oxford). He described recent laboratory tests of the response of Europeans, Negroes and Asians to hot humid environments. These revealed the similarity of the physiological processes and the wide range of adaptation of these different groups. As far as these tests went they could not be held to support the idea that modern man constituted a number of species which had evolved in parallel and in topographical isolation. Climate had undoubtedly influenced distribution and brought about physical changes but not to the extent of speciation.

Studies of modern communities were the subject of a number of communications. The classification and affinities of the Finns were discussed by Dr. Pesonen (Helsinki). Professor Lammers (Leiden) presented the results of a study of the population of East Dawan (Central Timor, Indonesia) and Professor Henckel (Concepcion, Chile) dealt with the anthropological characters of the Mapucho Indians in the province of Cautin (Chile). In this population he found a number of 'White Indians' characterized by white skin, reddish hair and grey or blue eyes. Mr. Roberts (Oxford) presented a preliminary description of the physique of the Kikuyu population photographed by the Sheldon technique by Dr. Allison in Kenya. Differences from the European physique were apparent in most bodily regions. Professor Torgersen (Oslo) dealt with the developmental genetics and the distribution of the frontal metopic suture. He gave an analysis of the inheritance of this character in relation to its frequency of occurrence in Norway. Professor Trotter and Dr. Duggins (St. Louis) described age changes in head hair of children showing that the area of cross-section increased during the first years of life and lessened thereafter. The texture of the hair becomes coarser with increasing age. Professor Verdun (Paris) described his metrical method of determining facial form which could provide a useful classification of facial types. He demonstrated his instrument for obtaining the necessary measurements.

A collection of artificially deformed Arawak skulls was demonstrated by Professor Harper (University College of the West Indies). Fossil material, models and photographs illustrating the East African and South African fossil finds were placed on view by Professor Le Gros Clark and Dr. Leakey, and by Dr. Broom and Mr. Robinson (Pretoria Museum).



## REVIEWS

## MISCELLANEOUS

**Magic, Craftsmanship and Science.** By V. Gordon Childe. *The Frazer Lecture, 1949. Liverpool (University Press), 1950. Pp. 19. Price 1s.*

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In this, his Frazer Lecture, Professor Childe outlines the evidence for the performance of rites by early man wherever, and however early, we find him. He points out the error in Malinowski's dictum that 'magic appears where knowledge fails,' by reference to the rites and taboos widely associated with metallurgy, a craft in which a considerable degree of mastery was early acquired. He assumes, however, that all early rites were magical in the strict Frazerian sense, and states of a Sumerian poem extolling the divine origin of the adze that 'divine' is doubtless a sophisticated explanation of 'magical.' His uncritical acceptance of Frazer's dichotomy impels him to make what is, in the strict sense of the word, an improbable assumption. This dogmatism mars what is, in spite of some evidence of haste in composition, an interesting and thought-provoking essay.

RAGLAN

**Forgotten Gods: Primitive Mind from a Traveller's point of View.** By K. H. Bouman. *Leiden (Brill), 1949. Pp. 28, 29 illus. Price 6 guilders*

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The author, now deceased, was Professor of Psychiatry and Neurology in the University of Amsterdam. He visited archaeological sites, witnessed savage rites, and in the essays here

collected writes of the bull cult in modern Spain and ancient Crete, mother goddesses, firewalking, etc. Though he tends to treat 'primitive man' as a single individual, he writes pleasantly and intelligently, but there is little in the essays that will be new to readers of MAN.

RAGLAN

**Primitive War, its Practice and Concepts.** By Harry Hulbert Turney-High. *Columbia (Univ. of South Carolina Press), 1949. Pp. ix, 277. Price \$4.50*

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This is a classified scrapbook of extracts relating to savage warfare from ethnological works, with some comments and general observations. It contains a good deal of interesting matter, but suffers from a predominance of references to Amerind warfare after the introduction of horses and guns, and the neglect of large parts of Asia and Africa. Nor have the scraps been very carefully sorted. There are five varying accounts of Assiniboin war leadership separated by other matter (pp. 61ff.), and of two extracts printed without comment one says that Chaka ordered all throwing spears to be destroyed, and another that he made their use compulsory (p. 100).

As an example of early tactics the author takes the story of Gibeah from Judges XX, and extends it to thrice its length by the insertion of matter of which the text gives no hint (pp. 32-8). One had hoped that, at least in works purporting to be scientific, this method of treating ancient documents was obsolete.

RAGLAN

## AFRICA

**Chopi Musicians: Their Music, Poetry and Instruments.** By Hugh Tracey. *London (O.U.P., for Internat. African Inst.), 1948. Pp. 180, 15 plates, 7 diagrams. Price 16s.*

241

This book will be of interest mainly to musicians for its technical description and explanation of the *mgodo* orchestral dances of the Chopi tribe of Portuguese East Africa, but it will undoubtedly attract even more readers for the verse texts, and their interpretation by the author, dealing as they do with matters of great concern to the Chopi, and therefore giving an insight into their reactions to modern conditions.

The *mgodo* are of considerable complexity, having from nine to eleven movements, lasting in all about 45 minutes, and are played on the famous *timbila* xylophones (believed to be of Indonesian origin, and later taken to the New World by the African slaves), together with drum accompaniment. They are composed by official musicians attached to different chiefs' kraals, new movements being frequently inserted. The compositions are therefore continually changing, with movements dropping out of circulation. It is interesting to note the process of composition: the verses are created first; music is then composed to suit them, and the dances finally fitted to the composition. The musicians, with justified professional pride, emphasize that 'you must dream to compose music' . . . 'timbila music is so moving it brings tears'; but the accent is not on the individual composer or soloist—the ambition of a Chopi musician is to become an orchestral leader. The whole performance, as with so much spontaneous, unwritten folk music, is a collective improvisation on a given theme, the five kinds of *timbila*, from treble to double bass, overlapping in range.

Competitions between dance teams and orchestras of different villages are common, whilst the themes themselves are overwhelmingly concerned with social criticism, although individual laments, for example, also occur. The subtlety and humour of the verse can be readily appreciated from the texts which constitute the body of the book, with native bureaucrats, the Administration, taxation, corporal punishment and conditions on the Rand (where most able-bodied males work at some time in their lives) as the principal targets for the sharp-tongued poets. The popularity of this art form can be judged from the estimate that 780 of the 6000 Chopi on the Rand alone are active musicians and form over fifty permanent orchestras.

Inevitably the book suffers from the absence of the music itself,

but Mr. Tracey has evolved good techniques for committing the compositions to paper which are a valuable and painstaking contribution to the study of African music. Some of his recordings may become available in the near future. Anyone who has attempted to record and accurately interpret even the verse of African songs (with their often obscure poetic diction) will appreciate the value of the author's system of recording the tablature of a movement, which can be done on a typewriter, and the efficiency of his notation and verse-interpretation.

The descriptions of the manufacture and tuning of the instruments—complex and delicate tasks—show the accurate techniques and the corpus of scientific knowledge the Chopi possess. Tuning, from the tonic note *Hombe* to a scale of seven equal notes, varies, not unexpectedly, from village to village, but there are only 8 vibrations' difference throughout the country. The author expects that greater inter-village mobility, concentration on the Rand, and a little encouragement will ultimately produce a standard tuning. It is noteworthy that it is the Paramount Chief's musician who claims to have the 'true' *Hombe*, the 'King's Note'; one finds it difficult to reconcile such observations with the author's suggestion that such matters may be a by-product of differential blood grouping! However, one cannot carp at the rare and minor blemishes in a pioneer work of lasting interest.

P. M. WORSLEY

**West African Religion.** By Geoffrey Parrinder. *London (Epworth Press), 1949. Pp. xii, 223. Price 10s. 6d.*

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Mr. Parrinder has searched some of the published scriptures on West African religions and added some material gathered by himself. The result is a small book which will be useful to those who are anxious to find snippets of information on various religious practices and beliefs, but which does little to interpret them sociologically or psychologically. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those concerned with selection and training for the priesthood.

BARBARA WARD

**Life Among the Cattle-Owning Plateau Tonga: The Material Culture of a Northern Rhodesia Native Tribe.** By E. Colson. *Rhodes-Livingstone Mus., Occ. Pap., N. S., No. 6. Livingstone, 1949. Pp. 40, map, illus. Price 2s. 6d.*

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This paper is one of a series planned to give a background to the tribal collections in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum. In these



collections an axe appears to visitors to be similar whether it is Tonga, Bemba, Lunda, Lozi or any other tribe; the role of the axe in each tribe's life may be relatively different. The series will therefore be invaluable for visitors.

It is also useful (judging by this paper and an earlier one by J. A. Barnes on the Fort Jameson Ngoni) for all students of African life. Here Dr. Colson covers briefly in turn Livelihood, Villages, Crafts, Ustensils, Food and Drink, Clothing, Play, and Ritual Objects.

Many of the data on these subjects, especially the detailed descriptions, are not nowadays included in social anthropologists' analyses of sociological problems, or are treated cursorily. This booklet gives these valuable data in one account made coherent by the theme of how people interact in producing and using material objects. Necessarily the account of social relationships is brief, though clear. It promises us much from Dr. Colson's full treatment of her study.

MAX GLUCKMAN

## ASIA

**The Lower Palaeolithic Cultures of Southern and Eastern Asia.** By Hallam L. Movius, Jr. Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc., n.s., Vol. XXXVIII (1949), Part 4, pp. 329-420. Price \$1.50

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Students of Pleistocene archaeology have come to appreciate the admirable syntheses of information and the exhaustive bibliography provided in recent years by Hallam L. Movius, Curator of Palaeolithic Archaeology in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. The work reviewed here is, as the author states in his opening paragraph, in the main a restatement of the fact and theory assembled in an earlier publication which is now out of print ('Early Man and Pleistocene Stratigraphy in Southern and Eastern Asia,' *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XIX (1944), No. 3). The present recension dwells less on the geological and expands the typological side of the subject. The first chapter summarizes the geological events and the resulting chronological points d'appui in the four areas in question: Java, Upper Burma, North-West India and North China. Then follows a chapter on terminology, and subsequent sections deal with the typology and cultural sequence of each area in turn, illustrating the material with many line drawings and photographs. A final chapter introduces us to the Lower Palaeolithic of Malaya and gives the isolated but suggestive evidence for the existence of Pleistocene artifacts in Thailand, Vietnam and South China. This digest of information, presented with ease and lucidity, should be as useful to anthropologists and archaeologists generally as to Palaeolithic specialists who have lacked the opportunity of scanning such wide horizons, even in the published literature, not all of which is easily available to everybody. Movius has handled the material, subjecting it to detailed typological analysis, and has made personal acquaintance with geological conditions in Burma and Java.

Movius reaffirms the conclusions on chronology which he had expressed earlier. The most important of these are the placing of the *Sinanthropus* deposit at Choukoutien (Locality 1) in the Middle Pleistocene sedimentary phase intervening between the Huangshui erosion (terminating the Lower Pleistocene with Villefranchian fauna) and the Chingshui erosion (Upper Pleistocene), in which he follows Hopkins and others; and the reference of the Patjitanian culture of south-central Java, or at least its fully developed stage, to the same chronological context. From the typological point of view this Patjitanian material holds some surprises, particularly in the light of the division of eastern and western Asia into two typological camps (chopper and handaxe cultures respectively) of which Movius is the chief exponent. For while the Patjitanian includes choppers, and is classified by Movius as a chopper culture, it also furnishes proto-handaxes and handaxes. Since the Irrawaddy Valley has thus far produced no handaxes, Movius suggests that culture contact can hardly be inferred, and he is inclined to see here a case of convergence, the Patjitanian choppers evolving independently of the Abbeville-Acheulian culture towards the pointed type of handaxe, and the chopping tools (i.e. the choppers with alternately flaked edges) evolving towards oval handaxes. He lays stress on the merely superficial resemblance of the Javanese handaxes to the classical Acheulian types, but (judging solely from the illustrations) it is difficult to escape the impression that the resemblance is embarrassingly closer than he allows, especially considering the nature of the material in Java, which is a rather coarse siliceous limestone. Some of the pieces have the common lateral-longitudinal profile of Acheulian pointed handaxes showing that they were worked from large flakes, the larger protuberance towards the butt deriving from the original fracture bulb. The difference of the material may

account for the distinction in secondary working and be responsible for the individual general aspect of the industry. Of course the occurrence of handaxe-like tools in a context which seems to preclude a genetical connexion with the Abbeville-Acheulian of Europe and Africa does not invalidate the generalization concerning handaxe cultures in the West and chopper cultures in the East, but it does complicate the typological picture and lead us to question the nature of long-term interpretations based upon it. And here it may be noted that occasional choppers and even chopping tools occur in the Acheulian of the Mindel-Riss gravels of the lower Thames Valley, as may be seen when a sufficiently large and indiscriminate collection of pieces is examined.

The difficulty which the Patjitanian handaxes represent in the matter of far-flung typological correlation calls to mind the two conflicting trends of interpretation in other archaeological fields, the *kulturkreis* approach with its tendency to exaggerate the role of culture contact and the importance of the individual culture trait, and the evolutionary view in which cases of convergence are readily accepted and the bias is in favour of tracing an evolution *in situ*. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that as regards the Lower Palaeolithic the application of detailed typology as a means of classifying cultures in any real sense (in the sense, say, that the cultures of the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe are classifiable by their flints) has almost been given up as a bad job and the study become almost exclusively a matter of Pleistocene geology and paleontology (and soon, we imagine, radiology). Breuil's classification of the Somme Acheulian into seven stages, ostensibly a division into typological as well as chronological categories, but in fact incomprehensible apart from the geological basis, dealt a blow to the typology of the old school, and discoveries in Africa, India and now Java have added the *coup de grâce*. After all no more cultural illumination ensues from equating handaxe forms from Europe, Africa, South India and the Far East than from doing the same thing with the 'Pre-Abbeville-Acheulian pebble-and-flake' type of industries which are almost as ubiquitous in their distribution, yet no one has thought it worth while to infer cultural community from the latter.

It might be possible to escape from the stalemate of Lower Palaeolithic typology by an even closer scrutiny of the handaxes. We should not confine our classification to the form of the finished tool but attempt to reconstruct the process of its manufacture from the very beginning. It is likely that a stone-age community was quite ready to adopt the shape of a tool it found in use by alien tribes, once its advantages were manifest, but much less likely that it should have the opportunity of learning, or be prepared, to revolutionize its industrial technique in order to reproduce the precise method of manufacture practised by the original users of the tool. On this consideration the detail of the technique of manufacture is just as important as the final shape. One suspects (indeed the use of prepared cores to produce large flakes for handaxe-manufacture in the middle stages of the Chelles-Acheulian of South Africa is a case in point) that the astonishing similarities of handaxes from widely distant parts of the world may disguise fundamental differences in the manufacturing technique, both in primary and secondary working, which remain significant even when the influence of differing materials is discounted. But to command the necessary insight into working methods one must have an intimate acquaintance with the work itself, amounting to the ability to reproduce the various types of handaxes. But such ability is very rare, and only one Palaeolithic archaeologist known to me can lay any claim to it. When such an analysis of handaxe cultures is possible we may discover an interplay of techniques and forms as complex as that which exists



in France between Mousterian, Late Levalloisian and even the early stages of the blade cultures.

A criticism of Movius' terminology which many readers will agree in making is that he prolongs the life (and in fresh fields at that) of the 'core culture' and 'flake culture' antithesis. Movius is not deluded, but some readers may be. With radiological dating and no doubt other wonders around the corner, we must adapt our terminology to the atomic age.

W. WATSON

**Slavery in the Ancient Near East.** By Isaac Mendelsohn. New York (London: O.U.P.), 1949. Pp. vii, 162. Price 22s. 6d.

**245** Mr. Mendelsohn describes this useful little book as a comparative study of the various institutions of slavery as they existed in the Ancient Near East from the middle of the third millennium B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era. His object is to investigate the sources from which slaves were recruited, their legal status and the role of slave labour in the economic life of Babylonia, Assyria, Syria and Palestine. It is time that a beginning was made to utilize the vast amount of sociological material now available for the student from the rich sources laid bare by the archaeological activities of the last half-century.

The social life of the communities settled in the Mesopotamian river valleys and in the uplands of Assyria and Palestine in the second millennium B.C. can provide material as rich in interest for the social anthropologist as the study of 'primitive' communities today in Africa or Australia. The predominance of the 'functional' school of anthropology during the last thirty years has tended to overshadow fields of study demanding historical methods of research. But Professor Childe's studies in this field have redressed the balance and bridged the gap between archaeology and anthropology, and younger scholars are beginning to make use of the new material.

Mr. Mendelsohn has made excellent use of the sources which are only available to those possessing a knowledge of Akkadian and other Semitic languages, and has given to English students in competent translation the evidence concerning the fundamental institution of slavery as it entered into the social life of the early inhabitants of the Near East.

His material is taken from early Sumerian laws, contracts from Nuzu, early Assyrian laws, the Code of Hammurabi, and the various Biblical codes. He deals with the various causes which led to slavery, with the civil status and rights of the slave, with insolvency and self-slavery, with the marriage problems which often arose in connexion with slavery, with the marking of slaves, and many other interesting aspects of slavery. A valuable suggestion is made by the author in relation to the Hebrew custom of boring the ear of a slave who voluntarily accepted perpetual servitude: it is that the piercing, which would be too invisible to serve as a mark of identification, was intended to receive a ring or cord to which was fastened a tag of clay or metal. This suggestion is supported by evidence from Nuzu.

The book is well documented and has useful indexes. It may be heartily commended to students of social anthropology.

S. H. HOOKE

**Kerala—Past and Present, Vol. I: Prehistoric Archaeology.**

By L. A. Krishna Iyer. Trivandrum (Ratnam), 1948. Pp. 36, 6 plates. Price Rs. 3/8.

**246** This little book gave promise of being a much wanted regional archaeology, but on being read it proves to be most disappointing. As one may judge from the titles of the works remaining to be published in this series, this is an archaeological prelude to four booklets on Kerala ethnology; and as we are told that the general heading of the series, *Kerala—Past and Present*, is 'in keeping with the Pan-Kerala movement,' it is possible that comments, as is shown in this first volume, may not possess a high degree of objectivity. The author is handicapped by not having had the assistance of *Ancient India* No. 4 to give a more solid background to the megalith-builders; such authorities as have been consulted however have been used in an uncritical and haphazard way.

Mr. Iyer dismisses the Paleolithic for lack of evidence, but, having failed to produce stone artifacts of any kind, labels certain megalithic and urn burials, which happened to be without deposited iron

objects as neolithic. The fact that these are iron-age burials and that earlier remains are unrecorded does of course tend to make a work on prehistoric archaeology rather thin. I am sure that the mesolithic and neolithic stages of culture will be found to be represented by microlithic sites in this area, but it is doubtful whether anyone has looked for them. The chief fault in this rather poorly produced book is the lack of maps, especially distribution maps, of which two or three would have been most useful. If one is looking for a good survey of the prehistory of Kerala this book does not provide it.

D. H. GORDON

**The Anthropology of Iraq: The Lower Euphrates-Tigris Region.** By Henry Field. Chicago Mus. Nat. Hist. Anthropol. Ser., Vol. XXX. (1949). Part 1, No. 2, Pp. 200, 180 plates. Price \$5.

**247** It must be a satisfaction to the author that, as a sequel to his work on the anthropology of the Upper Euphrates (1940), the scientific report about his research trip (1934) to the marshes east of the Tigris has appeared. After a clear explanation regarding race, religion, occupation, geographical dispersion and origin of the component parts of the population in that region, which at first sight presents a rather confused image, a description follows of the vital statistics and the anthropometrical and somatoscopic characteristics of 221 Al bu Mohammad males of the Hor al Hawiza, of 50 men of the more northerly Al Sawaad, and thirdly of 90 male Subba. These last, belonging mostly to the class of craftsmen in the finer metals and of artisans, differ in language, culture and religion from both the other groups; very probably they originated from Iran, especially if one considers their physico-anthropological peculiarities: smaller average nasal index, greater average facial index, comparatively light complexion, and extreme hirsuteness.

The Al bu Mohammad and the Al Sawaad, both Arabian tribes, differ slightly in somatic characteristics; the latter are not so dark-skinned as the Al bu Mohammad, and present a greater bigonial diameter. Although they do not greatly differ in their average cephalic indices (Al bu Mohammad 77.94, Al Sawaad 78.30), they do appreciably differ in the distribution of these cephalic indices: 52.94 per cent. mesocephalics and 21.72 per cent. brachycephalics among the Al bu Mohammad against 40.00 per cent. and 30.00 per cent. (Keith system), respectively, among the Al Sawaad. Of the Al bu Mohammad women Miss Smeaton could only obtain the measurements of three; it is of more importance that she was able to examine 23 Subba women. It was again apparent that this group is distinguished from the encircling tribes, especially by its finer features. Circumstances prevented anthropometric information from being obtained concerning the Bani Lam, who together with the Al bu Mohammad, the Al Sawaad, the Al Sudan and the Uziyri inhabit the eastern marshes. Chapter 4 gives a survey by Winifred Smeaton of the anthropometric data on 126 men from the prison, and of 40 women besides, from An Nasiriya, on the Euphrates. The condition of each person's dentition is stated, and in the case of the men the name of the tribe and the district as well; in comparison with the more easterly groups, the high nose index of the men is remarkable.

From the cultural-anthropology aspect Lady Drower deals with the Arabs from the Hor al Hawiza; this chapter reaches its culminating point in the description of the yearly commemoration of the death of the sons of 'Alī. The text of the book finishes with an appendix by Dowson on the date palm.

Special mention must be made of the excellent reproductions of the numerous photographs by Lady Drower, V. H. W. Dowson and Richard Martin. It is noticeable that in the photographs of types, particularly in those of the Al bu Mohammad, the faces look old for the ages given, and that some of the Subba representatives display an aristocratic appearance.

A. J. VAN BORK-FELTKAMP

**Myths of Middle India.** By Verrier Elwin. Pp. xvi, 532. Madras (O.U.P. Indian Branch), 1949. Price Rs. 15 (U.K. 25s.).

**248** The author, who has already written about a dozen scientific works dealing with his chosen region, besides novels and essays, defines his subject as 'myths from the Central Provinces, the Chhattisgarh and Orissa States and western Orissa'



(p. ix, adding in a footnote that 'administrative changes' have 'redrawn the map of India' since he finished his book in 1945). His general views on the folklore of the tribes concerned seem very sound. He recognizes (p. x) the importance of the written literature which has filtered down into these popular narratives in a more or less debased form, the influence of Hinduism and Hindu culture, and he furnishes abundant illustrations of these factors (as on pp. 4ff., 102, 443). The myths themselves are given, as in a scientific work they should be, as the enquirer found them, with no attempt to adorn or to expurgate them; and on the whole they give a rather unfavourable impression of the people's powers of imagination and narrative, being for the most part dull stories. They are of course, like all folktales, oblivious of chronology; thus on pp. 76 and 432 people living in primordial times have a modern police force complete with a local sub-inspector. They are very largely aetiological, and are conveniently set forth under the various subjects they discuss and generally try to explain, as natural phenomena, plants and animals, human beings, their body, life and customs. An interesting section (p. 354ff.) contains equivalents of some of the fantasies which psychiatrists discover in their patients, tales of persons whose sexual organs contained something formidable (teeth in the vagina or a sharp point on the penis) making connexion with them highly dangerous. Considerable space is also needed (pp. 443-68) for accounts of magic, both white (*vidya*) and black (*pap-vidya*).

Several interesting points arise. On p. 67 we find one of the innumerable variants of Psyche's task; on p. 436, a stone is substituted for a child, the trick which befuddled Kronos in the Greek or perhaps pre-Greek myth. On p. 180, some mute inglorious Darwin has noted for himself that earthworms 'till the soil for men.' P. 469 gives the interesting information that it is the tribes which wear fewest clothes which have the most stories about the origin of dress. A few slips and ambiguities need setting right. On p. 147, 'menstrual fluid' seems a mistake for 'lochia.' On p. 424, is the 'god' Amrit who has water of immortality in 'her' belly a male or a female deity? On p. 99, the second-hand reference to Strabo concerning the alleged worship of Zeus Ombrios (Indra?) should be xv, 1, 69; on p. 299, the curious passage in Ktesias about the people who are born without an anus is frag. 57, 24 Müller. The text of the stories and the well chosen parallels from other Indian peoples would be more readily intelligible if the author had added to the list of tribes which he gives (pp. 495-98) a short glossary of native words.

H. J. ROSE

**The Raj Gonds of Adilabad: A Peasant Culture of the Deccan, Book I: Myth and Ritual.** By Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, with Elizabeth von Fürer-Haimendorf. London (Macmillan), 1948. Pp. xvii, 449, with 90 photographs, 33 line drawings. Price Rs. 20

249 Although the Gonds number well over three million, and, with their strong tribal consciousness, form easily the premier tribe of India's many primitive and aboriginal peoples, no full-scale monograph on the Gond race nor on any specific branch of it appeared from the time of the British occupation of India till more than a century had elapsed. Then indeed the late Sir Wilfrid Grigson published his book on the Maria Gonds of Bastar, and since then there have been contributions to our knowledge of Gond culture from Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hivale, but these deal for the most part with the rather atypical Marias and Murias of Bastar. The Gonds, as the author points out, consist of a group of a number of divergent tribes, synthesized up to a point by a common language, though including large groups of non-Gondi-speaking Gonds, in the east speaking Chhattisgarhi Hindi, in the south Koya or Telugu, and, in the north-west of central India, Western Hindi. Fürer-Haimendorf's Raj Gonds of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions have been less influenced by alien culture and by Hinduism in particular and regard themselves as preserving the purest form of Gond culture.

The author has concentrated on presenting the complex Gond ceremonial and ritual 'sanctioned and sustained in almost every phase by mythical precedents.' He clearly agrees with Malinowski and Verrier Elwin that myth is the motive power and authorization

of primitive institutions; that those institutions survive which have a legend to vitalize and control them; that myths are not so much explanations of custom as the means of constituting its observance a part of the normal and accepted religious and social order. 'The myth breathes life into ancient custom; it makes the unintelligible real. . . . The myth makes everything contemporary' (Elwin, *Myths of Middle India*, p. xii).

Since the author appreciates his Gonds from this standpoint, it is not surprising that translations of Gondi myth and descriptions of Gond ritual constitute the most substantial part of his book. They do not however exclude other matter, and we have it in full measure, pressed down and running over. The population pattern is described and the Raj Gonds placed in relationship to other tribes; their houses and villages are described; their language, their physical environment, their history and the annual cycle of their occupations. Other tribes as well—Kolams, Naikpods, etc.—are briefly described, and the general approach to the description of the Gonds themselves involves a new method of presentation in which the mythical background is set for the enactment of the ritual scene and the annual cycle of life.

There is an occasional slip. Thus on p. 19 the second footnote, referred to in line 11, does not appear at all; C. U. Wills's *The Raj-Gond Maharajas of the Satpura Hills* is referred to on p. 7 (note 2) as published in 1925 but on p. 13 as published in 1913 (note 7); the 'trumpets' depicted on p. 50 are obviously not trumpets at all but oboes with a typical oboe double reed. These are minor details easily amended in a second edition. What can never in all human probability be recaptured is the time and the place and the opportunity for obtaining with painstaking detail and meticulous care the record of Gond ritual and the conspectus of Gond culture which Fürer-Haimendorf here offers us with the insight and ability which has put him so easily into the first rank of our field anthropologists. The ninety photographs are only what we have learned to expect from him, and there are in addition four maps and plans, more than thirty line drawings by Mr. D. D. Chitale, and a foreword by Professor K. de B. Codrington. For bibliography and index as well as a glossary we must await the second volume, but otherwise this first volume is complete in itself as far as it goes—and that is a long way.

J. H. HUTTON

**Maize among the Hill Peoples of Assam.** By C. R. Stonor and Edgar Anderson. *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden*, Vol. XXXVI (September, 1949). Pp. 355-404

250 This important paper is a survey of certain Asiatic varieties of maize collected by the first of the authors and grown by the second at the Missouri Botanical Garden. Their conclusions are that there are 'at least two races of maize in Asia and that one of these must have crossed the Pacific in pre-Columbian time.'

At the International Congress of Americanists held in New York in 1949 a number of American scholars dealt with cultural connexions between Asia and pre-Columbian America, and their evidence tended to demonstrate that relations between Asia and America extended over long periods and between independent areas on both sides of the Pacific. The subsequent voyage of the Kon-Tiki offers some confirmation of one aspect of these relations; Stonor and Anderson's work on maize offers some confirmation of another.

Their views contradict those of Laufer and other previous students of the distribution of maize, but in so far as they are based on botanical grounds, they are to that extent beyond the criticism of an ethnologist lacking specialized botanical knowledge. On the other hand it is only right to point out that too much weight must not be attached to statements that maize, or certain sorts of maize, have been known to hill tribes from time immemorial. I well remember having told a certain Sema village the story of Brer Fox and the Tar-baby altered but very little to suit the local fauna. After an absence of four or five years I was myself regaled with the identical story altered this time by spoiling the point—'Do please, Brer Fox, throw me into that briar bush,' instead of 'Please do not etc.', so Brer Fox threw him in. On asking for the provenance of the story I was told at once that it had been received as ancient tradition from the past. Again, the stone age cannot be very far back in the hills; Ogle in 1875 remarked on the scarcity and high price of iron in the Sema



country, but the polished stone axes must already have been regarded as thunderbolts, as by so many peoples who have not so long since given up using them. In any case the fact that many varieties of maize are by various tribes still given names indicative of their importation cannot be taken as any sure indication of their ancient possession of varieties not so named. The fact that the Khasi speak of maize as Hadem grain is probably significant. The Hadem are a Kuki tribe; another Kuki tribe, the Thado, call maize 'Burma rice.' The Kuki tribes in general are the latest comers to the Assam hills south of the Brahmaputra and the course of their migrations has been traced with considerable plausibility down the Chindwin valley and up into Assam from the south-east. In fact Kuki migrations north-westwards have stopped, if they have stopped, only in the present generation. The Sema Nagas have been very much influenced by Thado or at any rate by some Kuki culture, and their word for maize—'foreigner's coix'—is probably an adaptation of the Kuki word. Further, the Thado 'house magic' (*in-doi*), a traditional ceremony for securing the prosperity of a new household, uses only seeds of the traditionally cultivated crops; these possibly include rice and maize in some clans, but in the Shingshuan clan at any rate include only millet, sorghum and coix, 'since only these grains were grown by the ancestors of the clan.'

The general inference one is inclined to draw is that maize, like rice, is not one of the grains most anciently cultivated by Naga and Kuki tribes; but any decision as to whether maize is indigenous to Asia, or was imported from America in pre-(or post-)Columbian days, must rest on botanical or conceivably on archaeological rather than on ethnographical evidence.

J. H. HUTTON

**La Mort et la Tombe : L'Abandon de la Tombe (Les Cérémonies, Prières et Sacrifices se rapportant à ces très importantes Manifestations de la Vie des Autochtones du Darlac).** By Bernard Y. Jouin. *Trav. et mém. de l'Inst. d'Ethnologie*, Vol. LII. Paris, 1949. Pp. viii, 260, 43 text figs.

This volume provides an extremely detailed ethnographic description of the mortuary rites of the Rhadé-Djaray and M'ngong groups of Moi peoples who occupy an area immediately to the north-east of the junction point of the frontiers of Cambodia, Cochín-China and Annam. Thirty-nine texts in Rhadé and M'ngong languages with detailed French translations are included. Though of undoubted value to the specialist, the material is hardly comprehensible without the overall ethnographic background. It is regrettable therefore that bibliographic cross-references are few. Those who wish to pursue the matter further may find it useful to refer to the extensive, though unclassified, bibliography of Indo-chinese ethnography published in *Travaux de l'Institut anatomique de l'Ecole supérieure de médecine de l'Indochine (Section anthropologique)*, Vols. II and III, Hanoi, 1937-38. Another seemingly very relevant reference not cited by the present author is a paper by Roux entitled *Les Tombeaux chez les Moi Jarai*, B.E.F.E.O., 1929. Readers of Kauffmann's paper on 'The Thread-Square Symbol...' in *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXIII (1943), may be interested to note here (p. 23) an example of the use of this symbol in a hitherto unrecorded area.

E. R. LEACH

**The Family Revolution in Modern China.** By Marion J. Levy, Jr. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Univ. Press) (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1949. Pp. xvi, 390. Price £2 8s.

One's first impression of Dr. Levy's book may be that it is a mere recapitulation of an already well known corpus of information disguised under a new terminology, for most of the empirical material it contains will be familiar to students of Chinese society. More careful consideration suggests that we have here the first stages of a significant advance in the study of kinship, for in the initial section, entitled 'General Concepts,' there is developed a scheme of analysis (owing much to Professor Talcott Parsons) in terms of five general categories—Role Differentiation, Allocation of Solidarity, Allocation of Economic Power, Allocation of Political Power, Integration and Expression—which should make possible a more systematic comparison of kinship structures than can be derived simply from a comparison of terminology diagrams.

The rest of the book is an application of this schema to the Chinese family, divided into 'traditional' and 'transitional' phases. The former differs in mode of statement rather than in content from previous analyses, but the latter, which examines the impact of modern changes upon the 'traditional' family, contains a number of intriguing original suggestions, especially on the question of the concomitants of industrialization. Much of this formulation must however remain at the level of tentative hypothesis pending extensive field research.

I would myself offer two specific criticisms. First, although Dr. Levy is careful not to confuse the norms of the peasantry with those of the gentry, his book seems to exaggerate the uniformity of the 'peasant' pattern. Greater emphasis might well have been laid on the regional diversity of Chinese culture, or at least Dr. Levy might have been more explicit as to the fairly high level of abstraction at which his generalizations apply. Secondly, the value of the book is limited by the absence of even a summary discussion of the wider structure in which the family operates. This is a study of the Chinese family and quite properly the family is the constant focus of discussion, but this interest is maintained so exclusively that the resultant picture of Chinese society seems somewhat distorted.

Nevertheless, the reader who is prepared to study the detailed monographic descriptions of specific Chinese communities that have appeared in the recent work of Fei, Lin, Hsu, Yang and other Chinese sociologists will find Dr. Levy's study a valuable stimulus towards theoretical analysis.

M. G. SWIFT

**Adat Law in Indonesia.** By B. ter Haar (Translated from the Dutch and edited with an Introduction by E. Adamson Hoebel and A. Arthur Schiller). New York (Inst. of Pacific Relations), 1948. Pp. xiv, 225. Price \$4

Indonesian *adat* law '*adat* [custom] that has legal consequences,' as Snouck Hurgronje defined it—is a subject hitherto far too little known among English-speaking anthropologists and jurists, despite the extensive Dutch literature on it. Oriented in general towards the 'culture area' approach by ethnological training and practical administrative needs, Dutch scholars aimed at delineating a hierarchy of 'law areas,' with internal homogeneity of an increasingly abstract character as the areas embraced successively larger groups of societies. The culmination of this trend would be 'an abstract treatment of the characteristic features of *adat* law' throughout Indonesia, regarding the whole country as a 'law area' of maximal extent. This was the task undertaken by Prof. ter Haar in his *Beginnelsen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht* (Groningen and Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1939), of which the present book is an edited translation.

The author begins with a highly generalized account of the main types of social organization in Indonesia. There follow major chapters on land rights, land transactions, obligations involving land, other obligations, the law of relationship, marriage law, and inheritance, and shorter ones on endowed foundations, the law of persons, and the law of delicts. The several aspects of *adat* law are discussed in terms of general legal principles widespread in Indonesia, with examples of actual practices reported for various societies to show some of the ways in which these general principles take (or took) concrete form. The final chapters deal with the time factor in *adat* law, legal terminology, precedent and the judge, and *adat*-law literature—the last being basically an annotated bibliography.

The original work was enthusiastically received when it first appeared, and is now regarded as a classic in its field. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the increasing world importance of Indonesia brought a demand for more information on the area in English, translation of this book should have been thought the logical way to meet this demand, at least with respect to Indonesian legal institutions and practices. It would be nice if the problem could be so easily solved.

Students of comparative law *per se* will, doubtless, find the book invaluable for their purposes. However, general readers interested in the background of current events (and it is to these that the translation is primarily addressed) or sociologists and social anthropologists interested in a legal system only as a functional component of a total social system will not find in the book the type of analysis they seek. The study makes no attempt to place *adat* law in its social context,



and relating the information in the book to the other aspects of Indonesian life so as to form a functional picture requires a background of familiarity with the Indonesian scene that few readers of the translation are likely to possess. Furthermore, even in the limited field of law, the very omissions which the author made precisely because he was *not* trying to depict the complete actual situation at the time of writing tend to give the impression that 'adat law' as described in the book is synonymous with 'law in present-day Indonesia,' which is far from the case. The Dutch and Islamic codes, which in many fields have profoundly affected *adat* law and in some completely ousted it, are mentioned *en passant*, about a dozen times in all. Rarely is any indication given of the current status of the *adat*-law practices reported, the present tense being used indifferently for defunct and moribund practices, for long-standing but still vigorous ones, and for new ones still on a precarious footing.

The editors have tried, in a special introductory chapter, to compensate for the differences in background and interests between the author's originally intended readers ('particularly students of the Law College [of Batavia]') and those whom the translation will reach. The effort is not particularly successful. The four-page 'Ethnological Background' merely delimits Indonesia geographically; lists some of the factors making for cultural diversity within the area; and discusses whether Indonesian law is 'primitive,' Indonesian society 'democratic.' The section on 'Law in the Native Culture' is a discussion of the law-area concept and a catalogue-*cum*-census of the nineteen law areas. The last section, 'The Place of *Adat* Law in the Legal System,' is much the best, but in correcting the impression of *adat*-law ascendancy given by ter Haar, it manages to create the opposite impression—equally erroneous—that *adat* law is relatively unimportant, by exhaustive enumeration of the political divisions,

ethnic groups, legal fields, types of court and general circumstances in which *adat* law is not applicable, and the limitations and influences to which it is subject even when and where it does theoretically apply. Neither the author nor the editors bring out clearly enough the dynamic character and adaptability of *adat* law in the face of changing social conditions, as might well have been done, even without attempting to extrapolate trends into the future.

As a translation the book is not wholly satisfactory: the English is sometimes unidiomatic and occasionally ungrammatical; some misspellings occur repeatedly (e.g., 'appegage'); and adherence to the Dutch punctuation, especially in restrictive clauses, frequently leads to ambiguity. The editors freely emended what they considered 'repetitive or an inordinate accumulation of examples.' Having gone so far, they might well have relegated to footnotes most of the numerous parenthetical strings of native legal terms, using such terms in the text only in the comparatively few cases where practices were described in sufficient detail to distinguish them significantly from corresponding practices elsewhere. As actually used, they contribute nothing to the sense, and detract markedly from the smoothness and clarity of the text. Further, the confusion caused by the author's inconsistency in spelling native terms and his vacillation between standard Malay and local vernacular forms is aggravated by lack of consistency in Anglicizing the Dutch rendering of the native terms.

The defects of the book have, perhaps, been dwelt on at the expense of its good points. It is certainly true that nowhere else is so much information on the subject available in so compact a space, and that there is no better book in English to recommend to anyone wishing to learn something of the Indonesian concept of law.

RUTH E. PARDEE

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Anthropology, Science and History.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 198

**254** SIR.—The broad issues considered by Professor Evans-Pritchard in his Marett Lecture are more widely discussed among anthropologists, and with fewer methodological inhibitions, than certain passages of his address would suggest. The fundamental point concerning the attainment of knowledge, underlying the questions he considers, is in fact the relation between analysis and integration, and not merely any antithesis between historiography and natural law in the senses in which he uses these terms. No anthropologist would deny that in the cultural and social fields both analytical and integrative thinking and presentation are needed and many appear to be aware of their complementary and interdependent character. From at least the time of Rivers, whose work was many-sided, it has been explicitly recognized, however, that further advance in integrative understanding of particular cultures and social configurations among non-European peoples must be particularly dependent on closer analysis of cultural pattern and social organization in terms of more abstract or general concepts and relations. It is this, I would suggest, rather than a supposed indoctrination derived from training in biological or physical sciences, that has accounted for the stress on general theory, *i.e.* on the effort to abstract from and test against field observation principles of general application in relevant contexts. Principles thus elucidated have been extensively used in integrative studies of the same and other cultures. This stress on general theory and on an analytical approach to a particular culture or to type phenomena in social organization has, it is to be noted, conspicuously appealed to anthropologists of our generation, whose earlier training has been in the humanities. If the dependence of advance in 'integrated description' on progress in analysis in terms of a wide conceptual framework be doubted, I would suggest that comparison be made of first-class studies at different dates relating to the same peoples, between, for example, Kroeber's 'Zuni Kin and Clan' on the one hand, and Titev's 'Old Oraibi' or Eggan's Pueblo studies on the other; or again, between Swanton's studies and those of Murdoch on the Haida.

It may still be worth while to ridicule juvenile pomposities to be found in 'functionalist' literature, but I regret to find Professor Evans-Pritchard repeating Professor Lowie's dictum that no social or cultural laws that are more than platitudes or tautologies have been discovered. It is unwise to use such terms in a pejorative sense, for the former is essentially relative and can equally be applied in the appropriate context to the Copernican or Newtonian systems, or to the circulation of the blood, while tautological statements may express equations that afford valuable analytical tools. If in the field of social science a verified general statement to the effect that  $< (or >) X \supset < (or >) Y$  can be made with reference to distinct attributes of associated patterns of behaviour, we have the equivalent of 'laws' in physical and biological science, *i.e.* abstract statements that have not been falsified to date by examination in the relevant field of controlled human observation. Such statements have been made on the basis of observation and analysis by anthropologists with regard, for example, to relations between techniques, resources and property rights, or to ambivalent and overlapping intra-group relations, e.g. the phenomena subsumed under Radcliffe-Brown's principle of consociation. That the sociological homologues of the proton and the neutron have not yet been conceptually isolated will be a matter for regret or a spur to further effort according to temperament. Furthermore to suggest that an abstract or conceptual frame of reference reduces man to an 'automaton' is to misconceive or misrepresent analysis. Science is a method for discovering and representing relations and recurrent process, not a philosophy of ultimate purpose. Man as an 'automaton' in any sense of the term is only a relevant problem for quite other doctrines and it may be noted that the forerunners of modern social anthropology, notably Spencer, stressed the distinction between the constants in human action, whatever their attribution, and the variables arising from, e.g., variations in 'social density' with cultural accumulation.

It is gratifying to find one whose own studies have been much admired as an outcome of 'functional' stimulation endorsing the naïveté of imagining that 'conjectural' can be intelligently used to



dismiss reconstructions of cultural history. The reminder that all historical knowledge is ultimately conjectural is timely. But it is equally true of 'laws' and history alike. For knowledge, as a series of organized general propositions (whether integrative, i.e. historical, or theoretical, i.e. analytical) held to be valid at a given time, depends always on congruence with the limited and relevant empirical information that is available. Having been greatly enlightened by his discussions of these matters some years ago I am glad to see stress laid on Professor Kroeber's analysis of the nature of history. It has always seemed to me unfortunate that his earlier and fuller exposition (in the *Journal of Social Philosophy*, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 317ff.) of the points made recently in reply to Professor White is not more widely known in this country. For this contains a more detailed consideration of the relevance to social and cultural studies of Rickert's analysis of the dichotomy between history and science. But there is a most relevant consideration which Kroeber does not stress, and one which, save perhaps in an aside where he suggests that anthropologists might be able to present historians with 'universals,' Evans-Pritchard appears to ignore. Kroeber recognizes the dependence of certain histories on scientific knowledge, referring to the extensive 'use' which astronomers make of physics, and natural historians of theories of biological process. But the essential point is that interpretative or integrative advances in history in all fields including the socio-cultural are dependent not only on the accumulation of new data concerning events but equally, and often more crucially, on advances in relevant analytical knowledge and on the application to the concrete data new or old of the concepts and criteria these afford. This is obvious when we consider for instance growth in knowledge of the history of our galaxy, where the means for determining and relating events depend so overwhelmingly on physical and chemical theory. But it is equally true, for example, with regard to successive changes in the social organization of any persisting human aggregate where a crucial condition of the degree of integrative description is the depth and range of abstract knowledge of social process. The relation, it should also be pointed out, is complementary or reciprocal in that historical advances in the determination and presentation of new data concerning events provide new analytical problems for solution. Anthropologists have quite generally grasped all this intuitively even where it has not been explicitly formulated. The professional tradition of the historians of human affairs is, however, negative towards both the recognition of, and still more studies in accordance with, the implications of this principle.

While, therefore, Evans-Pritchard's voicing of a growing and healthy repudiation of anti-historical sentiments in anthropological circles is most welcome, it is surprising and may be unfortunate that he should employ the term 'historiography' with so much stress, and that his uses of the terms 'history' and 'historian' should be so ambiguous. Historiography suggests the presentation of narrative or chronicle at the most concrete level at the expense of concern with wider relations both historical and analytical, and this, I would consider, is at the far pole from the intellectual objectives of latter-day ethnographical studies, not excluding some on the Nuer and the Azande. Anthropologists in their presentation of field material and in their integrative interests will continue to work historically in the sense of Rickert and Kroeber, but they have not remained at, and are not likely to revert to, the historical methodology of Prescott or Catlin. Nor, it need hardly be said, have professional historians remained there. But, admirable as may be the models they afford us with regard to the critical evaluation of documents and their interpretation in a concrete context, it remains true that the approach and teaching which Evans-Pritchard dubs 'timid and conservative' is in fact accepted and insisted on as the mark of the respectable and authoritative historian. Stage one of the scheme Professor Evans-Pritchard outlines is substantially the limit of the orthodox historian's objective, it is not a means to the second and third stages which anthropologists also consider to be important goals. Where among the historians are the comparative students of institutions of the feudal type wherever they are to be found in

space and time? And what in fact is the attitude among 'real' historians, among those to whom Evans-Pritchard refers, without dethroning them, as 'narrative and political historians,' towards attempts at such comparative analyses? As Kroeber himself has stressed, the historian as such cannot forsake a concrete context of space and time and cannot properly study classes of phenomena. This belongs to another more abstract and comparative level. In anthropology, as he also noted, work has commonly been of a mixed character, that is with both integrative and analytical objectives. An outlook explicitly confined as is that of orthodox historians substantially restricts analysis to the use of the heterogeneous and phenomenal categories of our own culture, it looks askance at the subjection of 'good' history to analysis in terms of more abstract concepts. For all his influence on historical studies and on the forming of historians in England, Weber, for example, wasted his time.

Clearly Professor Evans-Pritchard with his implied rejection of the model of 'the narrative and political historian' and his endorsement of study at successive levels of increasing abstractness does not really mean us to revert to historiography after all. We find that only those historians are to be our models who understand what is meant by 'sociologically intelligible' and those who by their colleagues 'are dubbed philosophers.' We have affinities then only with those who proceed to the second and third stages of his summary of our objectives, stages which he recognizes the 'timorous and conservative historians' eschew. This is indeed the maze of mirrors. Historians who have added unto themselves a conceptual apparatus of sociology are to save us from the history we in fact practise by urging us to continue in that very path which they also follow. The upshot is, it would appear, that we are agreed that the level of integration that can be reached in the portrayal of any one or more societies will depend on the depth of comparative analysis that can be brought to bear on the material available for study. We should therefore continue with our abstract comparative studies alongside our integrated descriptive accounts and join hands with historians who do likewise. As bath attendant, Professor Evans-Pritchard is himself perhaps impetuous in attempting to put the baby back before it has really been spilled.

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DARYLL FORDE

**On Whiteness.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 16 and 193

**255** Sir,—Lord Raglan is quite right in supposing that Africans do not think of Europeans as white, but as red. However, my 'misguided attempts' were not concerned with Europeans, but with Khartoumers, Egyptians and other Africans.

Werne, *Expedition to Discover the Sources of the White Nile*, Vol. I, p. 183, says that the tribes called the Khartoumers 'white devils.' Van den Plas in Lagae, *La langue des Azande*, Vol. I, p. 59, says that on two separate occasions he has been told of the flight of the Azande before 'white' men. These same people called the Egyptian troops who occupied their country by a name *Azudia* which implies paleness (de Calonne-Beaufaict, *Azande*, p. 31). One of the historical manuscripts of Bornu speaks of the coming of a 'white man' at a time before that of any of the races who are generally accepted as ancient in that country (Sir Richmond Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 81, ms. xxvii). The list might be widely extended, but these examples should set Lord Raglan's doubts at rest. They also show that the Bushongo are not so misguided in remembering 'white men' as the founders of their civilization.

Even the Portuguese used the same word. Vasco da Gama speaks of a 'white Moor' at Mozambique who was a *sharif* (Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*, 1898, p. 29). Duarte Barbosa says that 'The Moors in it [Kilwa] are some white, some black [*deles brancos, deles pretos*]' (G. McC. Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. I, pp. 92, 99).

I trust that my attempts will not prove to be as 'misguided' as his lordship's doubts.

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(a) Nomad School at Karesuando, built 1945



(b) Packing frozen reindeer meat before leaving Siikavuopio settlement. The reindeer are slaughtered in late autumn and placed in a storehouse at Siikavuopio as the Lapps move south from Norway. The meat is picked up and prepared for summer use as the spring caravans move northward.



(c) Caravan preparations at Maunu village. Lapp women and children are quartered in peasant homes in Maunu while the men gather the reindeer for the spring migration.



(d) Finnish fisherman and hunter who uses draught reindeer and sled. His reindeer is herded for him by Lapps in summer and returned for autumn and winter use.



(e) Turf hut used by Swedish and Finnish fishermen in summer



(f) Lapp herder's tent, for comparison with (e)

# CULTURE CONTACT WITHOUT CONFLICT IN LAPLAND

Photographs by R. N. Pehrson, 1949



# CULTURE CONTACT WITHOUT CONFLICT IN LAPLAND\*

by

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**256** The theoretical importance of situations in which two cultures exist in contact without conflict or the domination of one over the other was first demonstrated by Ethel John Lindgren in her account of relations between the Reindeer Tungus and Cossacks of north-western Manchuria.<sup>1</sup> Robert Redfield recorded a similar relationship between the Indians and the lower-class agricultural *ladinos* in Guatemala.<sup>2</sup> I shall here examine relations between the Karesuando Mountain Lapps and their sedentary Fenno-Scandinavian neighbours which appear to form a third example of the same type.<sup>3</sup>

Culture contact without conflict may be defined, following Lindgren's exposition, as contact between two groups resulting in a harmonious adjustment, without loss of homogeneity or cultural integrity by either, where the members of neither group 'express fear, contempt, or hatred in relation to the other group as a whole or any individual composing it,' and where 'the use or threat of force in the relations between these communities' is absent.<sup>4</sup>

The method used will be to illustrate this form of contact between the two groups concerned, as reflected in several aspects of their relations (described as they existed in 1949<sup>5</sup>), and with special reference to certain factors which seem to promote the harmonious contact situation in this case.

The Karesuando Mountain Lapps are reindeer nomads who migrate over a 180-mile long area within Sweden's northernmost parish, Karesuando, and Troms county shire, Norway (see map, fig. 1). They form 30 per cent. of the population of Karesuando parish.<sup>6</sup> From about 1 October to 1 May they nomadize in Sweden, grazing their reindeer in the forests and hillsides near the village of Karesuando. The rest of the year is spent in Norway, with occasional herding expeditions into the Enontekiö area of Finland to gather reindeer which have strayed into the prohibited Finnish pasturelands.<sup>7</sup> Since winter grazing is limited, the Lapp herders must split up into groups of from 15 to 20 persons at that season; but the Norwegian summer pasturelands provide a more plentiful and concentrated forage which enables these groups to expand to between 40 and 60 persons. The most extensive migratory treks occur with the spring movement northward into Norway and with the autumn return to Sweden, the end of which roughly coincides with the Christmas holidays. These the Lapps celebrate in the church village and administrative centre of Karesuando. It is then, and at Easter, that the Lapps have their most concentrated contact with Scandinavian culture. Their activities in the church village include visits between Lappish friends and relatives, who are often

separated during the rest of the year, calls on non-Lappish friends, going to marriages, baptisms, confirmations, etc., in the Swedish State (Lutheran) Church and to Læstadian meetings, burials, visits to the parish pastor, commercial transactions, drinking, conferences with the Supervisor of Lapps (*lapptillsyningsman*) and Nomad School Inspector, the registration of reindeer marks and other business connected with the reindeer-herding industry and, at Easter, preparing their children (who have boarded at the Nomad School) for the spring migration. Lapps cannot all participate at the same time in the Karesuando holidays, since part of the herding force must remain with the reindeer.



FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING MIGRATION ROUTES OF TWO KARESUANDO MOUNTAIN LAPP GROUPS

The place names refer to villages on peasant settlements near which the Lapps camp, except for Skibotn and Karesuando, the summer and winter trading centres respectively. Drawn by E. B. Peterson

The contact situation is complex since the Karesuando Lapps, while Swedish citizens, spend much time in Norway and Finland as well as in Sweden. Further, a Karesuando Lapp meets the Scandinavian culture not in its totality, but rather through the representatives of a number of aspects of that culture; the various Scandinavian groups differ to some extent in their relations with the Lapps. Such representatives include the Lapp Supervisor, who acts as a liaison agent between the nomads and the Swedish Government, the parish pastor and missionaries of the Swedish State Church, teachers in the Nomad Schools, traders who buy their reindeer for eventual resale south of Karesuando, the villagers of Karesuando through whom the Lapps obtain most Western goods, the tourists who occasionally visit them in the summer and, most important of all, the northern Fenno-

\* With Plate L and two text figures



Scandinavian settlers with whom the Lapps are in most frequent contact. Unless otherwise stated, the discussion will centre on the Lapps' contact with these settlers, who support themselves by hunting, fishing, some agriculture and occasional labour for the Swedish timber industry during the winter felling season, in areas west and south of Karesuando. These colonists live in settlements of two or three homesteads, generally on a lake shore, far from any road. They are Finnish in origin, language and culture, although most are Swedish citizens.

### *Political Relations*

Swedish administrative policies towards the Lapps are carried out by the Lapp Supervisor, whose task it is to ensure that Swedish laws concerning nomadic Lapps are enforced. Among his important duties are tax-collection, the quadrennial census of reindeer, presence at reindeer round-ups, when the various Lapp groups separate out herds which have become mixed together in mountain and forest grazing areas, the investigation of reindeer thefts, etc. He has direct contact with the headman (*ordningsman*) or Lapp group representative, who is elected by his Lapp community (*lappby*) for the specific purpose of dealing with the Swedish authorities. He is not a hereditary, patriarchal chief but rather, as the Lapps say, 'a good reliable man who will be careful about our interests.' The Lapps



FIG. 2. MIXED CULTURES ON A CARAVAN SLED  
Bicycle lashed on top of reindeer skins and antlers

sometimes prefer, however, to deal with the Lapp Supervisor directly rather than through their representative. The attitude towards the headman reflects the whole pattern of Karesuando Mountain Lapp culture, with its rejection of leadership and status differentiation, its premium on the individual's ability to manage for himself. Within the culture, authority derives from group *mores*, environmental necessities and the personal qualities of men of ability rather than from an organized centre.

The Karesuando Lapps are occasionally resentful about paying substantial taxes on their herds, but in general they express satisfaction with such Swedish governmental policies as child allowances and national health insurance. They appear to have approved Sweden's neutral position in the Second World War. They co-operate with the Lapp

Supervisor in the enforcement of laws, with the exception, occasionally, of those which they do not consider to be in accordance with the traditional fabric of Lappish life. Personal relations between the Lapp Supervisor and the nomads in Karesuando are amiable: during his visits to the mountain and forest camps he is entertained by the Lapps, and he returns the hospitality by inviting the Lapps to his home for coffee and refreshments when they visit Karesuando.

Both Lindgren and Redfield stress the importance of the individualistic character of social organization in explaining the amiability of relations in culture contact without conflict, and the situation here described seems to confirm their insight.

### *Economic Relations*

The two cultures produce, or make available, goods essential to each other, and do not compete in the economic sphere. The Lappish economy is based on the reindeer-herding industry, and reindeer-ownership is, in Sweden, restricted to the Lapps by law.<sup>8</sup> In the Karesuando region the Lapps have two markets for their reindeer, the traders and the settlers engaged in farming, hunting and fishing.

The traders buy reindeer from the Lapps in exchange for money or goods or both. These transactions take place in the late autumn encampments or at Christmas in Karesuando. The Lapps are regarded as 'hard-headed' businessmen. The trader occasionally uses alcoholic spirits in an attempt to strike a good bargain, but this has become less frequent than in the past, partly because of the stringent Swedish laws regarding drinking at reindeer round-ups and market transactions.<sup>9</sup>

With money obtained from the traders, the Lapps are able to buy goods which they have come to regard as necessities, such as coffee, flour, sugar, salt, butter, cooking utensils, cloth, yarn, tenting material, knife blades, and the silver with which they decorate their tunics and belts.

Lapp-produced reindeer meat is a very important part of the northern Scandinavian farmer's diet and often the only meat available to him. The settlers consider Lappish fur overcoats, reindeer-calfskin trousers and boots superior to factory-manufactured clothing. The Lapps sometimes board with the colonists in the winter, paying rent with such articles of clothing or with reindeer meat. The Lapps herd the few deer owned by sedentary Finns and Norwegians, who reciprocate by taking charge, in winter, of the Lapp-owned goats which supply milk at the summer encampments.

Economic transactions, as in the Reindeer-Tungus-Cossack situation, are about equally important to both parties and have helped to create what Lindgren terms a 'true reciprocity in social and other relations.'<sup>10</sup> This economic specialization is a facet of the whole system of mutual aid<sup>11</sup> which has grown up between the Lapps and their sedentary neighbours. Campbell has shown its importance historically in his study of early relations between the nomads and the Scandinavian colonists, and believes that 'in a subarctic region antagonistic instincts cannot remain in predominance. It is impossible to be in conflict



with human beings at the same time as with severe natural conditions. Mutual aid is a form of adapting oneself to the climate.<sup>12</sup>

### *Social Relations*

There is a great deal of mutual visiting between the Karesuando Lapps and the Swedes, Finns and Norwegians who live along their migration route or near the camps. The 'privileged-friend' institution is present in these contacts. While in Karesuando a Lapp usually stays, and may trade, with the same villager; this is a traditional arrangement, the Lapp's grandfather having stayed with the villager's grandfather. The privileged-friend arrangement is maintained among those Lapps who rent portions of a farmhouse during the winter; usually they live with the same sedentary family as their grandparents. Further acquaintance with each other's culture occurs when young Lapp women work for a time as domestic servants at the sheriff's or clergyman's home or at the Nomad School and when Finnish youths hire themselves out as herders to the Lapps. Occasionally a Finnish youth will desert sedentary life for nomadism after having worked as a hired herder. This occurred in Sweden in the past, according to Campbell,<sup>13</sup> but owing to the laws restricting ownership of reindeer to Lapps, it is now possible only through marriage to reindeer-owning Lapp girls, which usually leads to concessions.

Mutual respect exists between the two cultures, although Lapps often judge individuals on their own merits rather than by group stereotypes. A Lapp expressed this in the following manner: 'During the war, the Germans were not all bad. There were good Germans and bad Germans just as there are good Lapps and bad Lapps, good Swedes and bad Swedes. One cannot talk about "good peoples" and "bad peoples."' The Karesuando Lapps differentiate culturally rather than racially. They believe that cultural differences are important, although they do not make a man 'untrustworthy,' for example. The Lapps tend to consider their culture as somewhat superior to the settlers' life: 'Only the nomads are free. The peasants (*bönder*) are chained to their farms.' But the Lapps often describe a peasant (settler) as 'hospitable, clever, kind, good.' The settlers are more inclined to think of the Lapps in a stereotyped way, but comment on individual Lapp friends as 'pleasant fellows' rather than as 'good Lapps.' Settlers have told me that the Lapps 'are not perfect, no people is' and have then added: 'They are wealthier than we, but they work terribly hard in all sorts of weather for their daily bread. They earn what they get by their hardships.' Here we have a close parallel to the Reindeer-Tungus—Cossack situation where 'Expressions of dislike and distrust with regard to individuals in the other group are of exactly the same type as those applied within the group itself, and admiration seems to predominate over criticism.'<sup>14</sup>

When men visualize the members of another society as individuals rather than as stereotypes such as 'Lapp devils,'<sup>15</sup> 'dirty niggers,' etc., it may be difficult for intercultural conflicts to arise. Redfield mentions the same thing in describing Indian-*ladino* relations: 'What a man does has

small consequences for larger groups and little for his ethnic group . . . what a man does redounds to him and his immediate kin only.'<sup>16</sup>

In other areas of Lapland, where there is considerable summer tourism, the Lapp often tends to regard the tourists, with the mosquitoes, as one of the inevitable discomforts of the summer season. In the Karesuando area the situation is different owing to its relative inaccessibility and the rarity of visits from the outside world. There the tourists are welcomed with the best the Lapp has, since 'it is so pleasant to talk to new people.' During such visits the tourists may buy Lapp knives, antlers, reindeer furs, skin boots, etc.

### *Lappish Attitudes to Swedish Education*

Karesuando Lapp children have (1949) six years of compulsory primary education<sup>17</sup> at the recently built Nomad School in Karesuando. The school year runs from August to April. Generally the Karesuando Lapps look on this compulsory education as a good thing. They see advantages in being able to speak, read and write the Swedish language and in familiarity with arithmetic, particularly as a safeguard against being cheated in commercial transactions. They express sympathy with the neighbouring Finnish Lapps, whose formal education has been sketchy or non-existent.

However, the shift from tent school to permanent boarding school worries many Karesuando Lapps, who believe that the removal of children to the church-village boarding school from August to April will have disastrous consequences on their culture. Already, they say, the young Lapps are showing more interest in automobiles than in reindeer. But now that the fine permanent Nomad Boarding School has been erected in Karesuando, they concede that tent schools are inevitably superseded. Some have told me that they would prefer an October rather than a Christmas vacation for their children 'since it is in October that the reindeer are in the corral every day [to be milked] and it is then that our children acquire a love for the Lapp life.'

### *Linguistic Relations*

The Karesuando Lapps speak (i) a dialect belonging to the Central Lapp dialect group,<sup>18</sup> (ii) Finnish, the native tongue of their settled neighbours, and (iii) Swedish, if they have attended the Nomad School or had extensive relations with Swedish-speaking tourists, administrators or others. They sometimes blend Swedish and Norwegian in speaking with Norwegian tourists and frontier police. Finnish is the language most frequently used in the Lapps' contact with the settlers, although many of the latter, especially in Norway, are fluent in Lappish.

### *Religion*

Both the Lapps and the peasantry regard themselves as Læstadian Christians (some state that 'only we Læstadians are true believers'). The Læstadian sect,<sup>19</sup> widespread in the northern parts of Sweden, Norway and Finland, seems to have incorporated such psychological elements of the Lapps' earlier shamanism as ecstasy, chanting and the



trance into Christian worship. There seems, however, to be some difference between the Lappish and northern Scandinavian approaches to their religion: only the Lapps went into an ecstatic state in the course of the five Læstadian services which I witnessed, and the parish pastor said that it is rare for the peasantry to participate in these ecstatic transports.

Karl Nickul reports that the bond of a common religion was an important factor in the adaptation of Finnish Lapp evacuees to life among the Swedish farmers' families during the Second World War.<sup>20</sup> The close religious unity of the Karesuando Lapps and their settled neighbours has undoubtedly promoted harmonious intercultural relations.

### *Length of Contact Period*

According to Collinder,<sup>21</sup> Finnish hunters and fur traders were active in the Tornio valley as early as the thirteenth century, perhaps earlier; the first Lapp church in Karesuando was built 75 kilometers north of Karesuando village in the sixteenth century. Although early accounts of relations between Karesuando Lapps and Scandinavian settlers are seldom detailed, it is clear from Turi's description<sup>22</sup> of events in Kautokeino parish<sup>23</sup> that such early contacts as were marked by sporadic violence have not wholly disappeared from 'folk memory.' Today this violence has decreased to the vanishing point. An important cause of early conflict was the Lappish shamanistic religion. But as the Lapps gave up certain elements of this religion (such as magic-drum divination) and as other shamanistic elements were incorporated into their Christian worship, religion ceased to be an important point of conflict between the two cultures. The same thing may have happened in other fields of conflict.

Thus while elements of conflict were present in the initial phases of culture contact, continuous relations over a long period have resulted in harmony between the Karesuando Lapps and the settled colonists. Hereditary friendships and a system of mutual aid have developed between individuals in the two groups and older cultural elements capable of causing friction have been reconciled.

### *Summary*

Evidences of inter-cultural conflict are not entirely absent, as is seen, for example, in the educational situation, where apprehension as to the future of Lappish culture was expressed. Such stresses, however, do not obscure the general picture of culture contact without conflict in relations between the Karesuando Mountain Lapps and their sedentary Fenno-Scandinavian neighbours. The factors operative in this situation seem to substantiate the hypotheses advanced by Lindgren and Redfield in explaining culture contact without conflict.<sup>24</sup>

### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup> E. J. Lindgren, 'An example of Culture Contact without Conflict: Reindeer Tungus and Cossacks of Northwestern Manchuria,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, N.S., Vol. XL (1938), No. 4, pp. 605-21. For an example of the more usual type of culture contact, see G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> R. Redfield, 'Culture Contact without Conflict,' *Amer. Anthrop.*, N.S., Vol. XLI (1939), No. 3, pp. 514-517. Compare also the relations between Chinese Moslem traders and nomadic Tibetans as described by Robert B. Ekvall in *Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border*, Univ. of Chicago Publ. in Anthrop., Occ. Pap. No. 1., Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> G. Gjessing has pointed out the importance of culture-contact studies in any investigation of Lapp culture in 'Norwegian Contributions to Lapp Ethnography,' *J. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Lindgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 607.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to the American-Scandinavian Foundation for financing the research upon which this article is based; to Dr. Ethel John Lindgren, University of Cambridge, for invaluable guidance in both theoretical and practical aspects of my investigations; to Intendent Ernst Manker, Nordic Museum, Stockholm, and Herr Mikel Utsi, Murjek, Sweden, for aid and advice; and to Dr. Åke Campbell, Uppsala University, Dr. Robert Redfield, Mr. McKim Marriott and Mr. Herbert C. Taylor, Jr., University of Chicago, who have discussed with me some of the material contained herein.

<sup>6</sup> Norrbottens Läns Turistföreningen's pamphlet *Karesuando*, Luleå, 1947.

<sup>7</sup> Mikel Utsi discusses the difficulties encountered by Swedish reindeer-owners because of the regulations partially closing the Finnish and Norwegian borders to them in 'The Reindeer-Breeding Methods of the Northern Lapps,' *MAN*, 1948, 114.

<sup>8</sup> The Swedish law giving a legal monopoly on reindeer-breeding to the Lapps reads, in part, as follows: 'The right to reindeer management . . . belongs to him of Lappish descent, provided that his father or mother or any of their parents carried on reindeer management as a permanent profession or assisted therein . . .' *Lag om de svenska lapparnas rätt till renbetes i Sverige*, promulgated at the Royal Palace, Stockholm, 18 July, 1928. Undoubtedly this law has brought the Lapps basic security and thus indispensable prestige in their relations with the ruling majority, the Swedes.

<sup>9</sup> See Å. Campbell, *Från Vildmark till Bygd* (Landsmåls- och Folkminnesarkivet, Uppsala, Ser. B.5), Uddevalla, 1948, pp. 270f.

<sup>10</sup> Lindgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 617.

<sup>11</sup> Another aspect of this system of mutual aid is the reindeer-meat gifts with which the Karesuando Lapps help out the settlers when the latter suffer a failure of their potato crop.

<sup>12</sup> Campbell, *loc. cit.*, p. 270.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269-71.

<sup>14</sup> Lindgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 607.

<sup>15</sup> Lapps in Jämtland county, southernmost Swedish Lapland, have told me that they are sometimes referred to as 'Lapp devils' by neighbouring Swedes. It is also known farther north, but I heard no expressions of this sort in Karesuando parish.

<sup>16</sup> Redfield, *loc. cit.*, p. 515.

<sup>17</sup> The Nomad School Inspector Dr. Israel Ruong has discussed reasons for increasing the compulsory school period to seven years in *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* (Uppsala), 1949, No. 4, p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> See Thomas A. Sebeok's review of Dr. Harald Grundström's *Lulelappsk Ordbok in Language*, Vol. XXIV, 1948, No. 2, p. 249.

<sup>19</sup> Professor Björn Collinder discusses the Læstadian sect and describes a Læstadian church service in *The Lapps*, Princeton, 1949, pp. 20f., 152f.

<sup>20</sup> See K. Nickul, 'The Finnish Lapps in Wartime and After,' *MAN*, 1950, 70.

<sup>21</sup> Collinder, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> J. Turi, *Turi's Book of Lapland*, New York and London, 1931, pp. 226-32.

<sup>23</sup> Kautokeino is the centre of a Norwegian parish, the headquarters of the Kautokeino Lapps and the ancestral region of many Karesuando Lapps.

<sup>24</sup> References to other instances of the phenomenon will be welcomed in the correspondence columns. Africanists might consider the case of the nomadic (as distinct from the settled) Fulani in Nigeria; and also of the Buzu, or migrant labourers who yearly travel on foot from across the northern border as far as the Nigerian coast, without, apparently, being noticed in the literature.—ED.



## MAN'S RELATION TO THE APES\*

by

DR. W. C. OSMAN HILL

**257** Compared with its apparent simplicity in the immediately post-Darwinian period, the problem of the relation of man to the apes is now one of extreme complexity. Darwin bemoaned the absence of fossil evidence bridging the gap between man and ape; but Huxley and Haeckel, whose demands for 'missing links' appeared to be satisfied with Dubois's discovery of *Pithecanthropus*, seized upon this relic with avidity, since for all practical purposes it rendered the ascending Primate scale apparently complete—especially when Neanderthal Man was also included.

Later discoveries, however, both of fossil apes (*Dryopithecinae*, *Australopithecinae*) and men, far from elucidating the picture, served only to complicate matters and have led to considerable controversy as to the period and mode of human emergence. We are now acquainted with a welter of fossil forms, such as would have surpassed the wildest dreams of the post-Darwinians; but the evidence they present is often ambiguous. Comparative anatomical studies on existing apes, when pursued into details not investigated in Huxley's day, are equally equivocal. At the present day, therefore, we are presented by different experts with most widely differing views of man's relationships to the existing and fossil anthropoids, while some have gone so far as altogether to deny the anthropoids a place on the human stem.

The orthodox view still maintains that the Hominidae have derived from ancestors structurally classifiable as 'apes' though not, perhaps, such as would be recognized generically as gorilla, chimpanzee, orang or even gibbon—all of which are regarded as being too specialized through early adaptation to their existing habitats. Chief dissensions among the orthodox relate to the relative affinities of each of the four types of surviving anthropoids to man and to their hypothetical common ancestor, and are summarized in the genealogical trees published by such authorities as Gregory, Weinert, Keith and Schultz.

Even among the post-Darwinians critics of the anthropoid origin of man were to be heard, for Mivart (1873) emphasized that man had no special affinities with any one Primate, but shared them with many forms, including monkeys and lemurs. Osborn, originally an exponent of the orthodox view, had by 1927 revised his opinion on palaeontological grounds, believing that the human line had separated, as far back as the Oligocene, from the stock which culminated in anthropoid apes.

Another palaeontologist, Boule, from his study of Neanderthal Man, stressed the many likenesses between man and monkeys in contrast to any anthropoid affinities. Most outspoken of the heretics is Wood Jones, who has consistently denied any community of lineage for man

with any of the higher Primates, either ape or monkey. He maintains that *Tarsius* is man's nearest surviving relative, and believes the Hominidae to have sprung direct from the Eocene tarsoids. Frechkop has adopted the most extreme view in his argument that the erect posture is a primitive mammalian characteristic, believing quadrupedalism to be a secondary specialization. Acceptance of this would be compatible with the tarsoid hypothesis; for tarsoids, even the Eocene ones as far as they are known, were of orthograde habitus.

Where lies the truth between these extremes? That so many anatomists of repute have brought forward a multitude of arguments against the orthodox view at least compels us seriously to consider whether or not there is something wrong with that view. The extremes, at any rate, can scarcely be said to be reconcilable; are we to continue our adherence to the orthodox attitude or some modification of it, or must we deny the apes any participation in human phylogeny?

Exponents of the orthodox view have relied on the undoubted similarities (morphological, physiological, biochemical and psychological) between man and the anthropoid apes. The heretics stress the apartness of man: his basically generalized structure with a few superposed, recently acquired, specializations. Man's generalized status is largely attributable to the tendency to paedomorphism and even foetalization (Bolk's hypothesis)—retention into adulthood of characters elsewhere transient during infancy or foetal life. Characters in his pilous system, certain body proportions (e.g. cranio-facial proportions), ossicula metitalia in neonatus are included here. Among special human features are stressed, by Wood Jones, the characters of the superficial fascia, limb proportions (the reverse of their condition in the apes), the structure of the premaxilla, plan of cranial sutures, certain dental features, the form of the aortic arch and the persistence of a deep brachial artery, the deep transverse metatarsal ligament and features in the kidneys and external genitalia. Stewart (1936), following Friedenthal (1908), has stressed the total absence of sinus hairs, the existence of curly hair and of long hair (shared to some extent by the orang). He also considers the inguinal ligament a specifically human attribute, though recent work by Lunn (1948) is detrimental to this view. These features and others, like the high situation of the nipples, indicate a specialization in the opposite direction from the apes.

Proponents of the orthodox view have retaliated (Gregory, 1936; Schultz, 1936) with counter-arguments that the differences stressed by their opponents are differences of degree rather than of kind, being quantitative rather than qualitative. They also emphasize the fact that most of the specifically human attributes occur as occasional, if not frequent, anomalies in one or other of the

\* Summary of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 8 March, 1949



apes, whilst simian features are very common either as regular racial distinctions in the more primitive human types, or as occasional variations (atavisms) in mankind generally. They point out, for example, the existence in individual chimpanzees of multipyramidal kidneys, forgetting that a human kidney with but a single pyramid is quite unknown.

It seems to me that misconceptions have frequently arisen from dependence for much of our knowledge of anthropoid-ape anatomy upon dissection of juveniles, whereby undue emphasis is placed upon similarities to man. On the well-known principle that early developmental stages of nearly related animals show greater degrees of similarity than do the corresponding adult stages, it is not surprising that juvenile apes, in many respects, agree with human neonatal and/or infantile anatomy. Furthermore, since in adult man infantile features tend to persist, some likenesses to juvenile anthropoids are likewise perpetuated. No more striking example could be quoted of the resultant misunderstandings than the far-reaching assumptions based upon the juvenile type specimen of *Australopithecus*.

When fully mature apes are studied the divergence from the generalized human pattern is rendered more manifest. In general, at least as far as the great apes are concerned, the growth tendency is towards gerontomorphism in contrast to the human pædomorphic trend. This tendency reaches its acme in *Gorilla*. Nevertheless, there occur within both human and simian stems differential trends in the directions both of pædomorphism and gerontomorphism. Thus by human standards Negroes and Australians are relatively gerontomorphic, whereas Bushmen and Mongoloids are more than usually pædomorphic. On the other hand, on simian standards, pædomorphism is exhibited by the pygmy chimpanzee and by the *Australopithecinae*. Even within a frankly gerontomorphic organism (such as *Gorilla*) individual organs, the penis, for example, remain pædomorphic.

These trends serve to indicate the interplay of growth mechanisms leading to likenesses and unlikenesses that belie the basic genetic relationships. Similar conclusions are to be drawn from structural similarities due to independent manifestation of latent evolutionary trends, inherited by several radiating lineages from an ancestral stock that did not itself exhibit the traits (e.g. loss of tail, broad sternum, vermiform appendix, valvulae conniventes, orthograde posture): that is to say, from one form of convergent evolution.

In assessing the divergence between the human and anthropoid stocks, the factor of evolutionary rate must not be lost sight of. Granted a greater tempo of evolution for the apes, it would not be surprising if they underwent greater specialization, especially if they were restricted in their habitat by geographical barriers, as seems to have been the case. Considering the potentially more rapid rate of

reproduction (puberty is several years ahead of the human schedule) it may be inferred that there are almost twice as many generations of chimpanzees as human beings in a given time. Slowly evolving man, therefore, tends to remain a relatively generalized Primate, little altered from his immediate ancestors; while the anthropoids romp away with increasing specializations that commit them more and more to a limited environmental niche and unfit them as progenitors, in turn, of progressive types. Moreover, these commitments were already under way in the Miocene apes, which, though naturally sharing more characters with man than their modern representatives, had already passed the stage when they could have given rise to the precursors of *Homo*. There is no reason to suppose that the Pliocene *Australopithecinae* were nearer than the Miocene *Proconsul* and its allies to the human stem, despite the admitted human features in the dentition and the assumption of an erect posture, which are merely parallel manifestations of latent trends.

In conclusion, therefore, it seems that we are still rather in the dark as to the immediate precursors of the *Hominidae* and also as to their antiquity. That man branched off from the main Primate stock at an earlier date than the apes seems almost certain; so that his lineage is more ancient than has been generally supposed.<sup>1</sup>

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Recently published research has tended to confirm the views expressed at the time of this lecture (see Straus, 1949, who advocates with masterly skill the derivation of the human line from a generalized catarrhine—a view that may possibly be reconciled with Wood Jones's hypothesis if we interpolate a stock such as is suggested by the Oligocene *Parapithecus*, whose remains betray definite tarsoid affinities).

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## SHORTER NOTES

**The VIIIth International Congress for the History of Religions, Amsterdam, 4-9 September, 1950.** Report by **258** Professor E. O. James, member of the International Committee and Delegate of the Royal Anthropological Institute

While the main theme of the Congress was the discussion of a myth and ritual pattern in civilization and in primitive society, a number of other topics were brought under review, ranging from religious conversion among American Negroes during slavery (Paul Radin) and the function of reason in primitive religious systems (van Baal) to Dead Sea scrolls (Millar Burrows) and Kronos and the Titans (Grégoire). This deviation from the original scheme compelled the organizing committee to abandon its intention of producing a final report on the conclusions reached in the sections. Nevertheless, the *Acta* of the Congress are to be published shortly containing a summary of all the papers read together with the Presidential Address by Professor Dr. G. van der Leeuw, and the complete text of the three general lectures delivered before the whole assembly *viz.*, 'Temps, histoire et mythe dans le Christianisme des premiers siècles,' by Professor Dr. H. C. Puech of the Sorbonne; 'Mystery and Sacrament,' by Professor A. D. Nock of Harvard; and 'Mythes des origines et mythes de la création,' by Professor Dr. Pettazzoni of the University of Rome.

After consultation with U.N.E.S.C.O. it was decided to establish an international organization to promote the scientific study of the history of religion, and the collaboration of all who are engaged in this field of research, under the auspices of the

Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines. It was also proposed to establish if possible an international journal devoted to the subject and an international bibliography. The headquarters of this organization probably will be located in Paris and it was hoped that the next Congress would meet in Rome in 1955. At Amsterdam practically every country in Western Europe (including Eastern Germany) was represented, together with delegates from the U.S.A. During the Congress a reception was held by the Dutch Government and the civic administration in the Rijksmuseum and a message of welcome was received from Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands.

E. O. JAMES

**Association of Social Anthropologists.** Note of a meeting held on 29 and 30 August, 1950. Communicated by Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard **259**

The summer meeting of the Association was held at Birmingham on 29 and 30 August. There were present: Mr. Barnes, Professor Evans-Pritchard, Professor Firth, Professor Fortes, Dr. Fortune, Professor Gluckman, Dr. Leach, Dr. Little, Dr. Mair, Dr. Peristiany, Professor Radcliffe-Brown, Dr. Srinivas. Professor Radcliffe-Brown was in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Lienhardt and Miss M. Tew were invited to join the Association. Dr. Fortune opened a discussion on 'Religion and Warfare.' It was decided to hold the next meeting at Oxford on 20 and 21 January, 1951. Professor Schapera consented to introduce a discussion at this meeting.

## REVIEWS

## AFRICA

**The Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia: An Account of the Progress of Research from 1900 to 1946.** By Neville Jones. **260** Museum Memoir No. 2, Nat. Mus. S. Rhod. C.U.P., 1949. Pp. 78, 40 illus. Price 7s. 6d.

Here is an exceedingly useful little book. It provides a short critical summary of the present state of knowledge in a most interesting area. The author has been associated with these studies from their outset, both as one of the most active field workers—though by no means the only one—and as a curator of the museum which has acted as a sort of clearing house of observations and discoveries throughout the 150,000-odd square miles of the territory. He is thus an ideal man for the job, and both he and the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia are heartily to be congratulated on their initiative.

Mr. Jones starts with a brief historical sketch of the early investigations culminating in the first scientific work, by Dr. Arnold, first curator of the Museum. There follows a short analysis of the earliest traces of human activity in the territory, represented in Mr. Jones's estimation by a few finds of nuclear artifacts classed as 'pebble tools.'

Most of these have been found in deposits also containing hand-axes and even Levallois flakes. Apart from the variation in states of preservation, there scarcely seems to be sufficient reason for the assumption that the first-named are not in place, the more especially as several of the specimens illustrated look suspiciously like the by-products of ordinary plain-platform flaking such as undoubtedly occur in most handaxe industries and some later traditions as well. One case is however quoted of a recent discovery of pebble artifacts isolated in a gravel stratigraphically anterior to another containing handaxes. The latter have been discovered *in situ* in an abundance of deposits, some of which demonstrate the sequence of later industries. As a result the author is able to assemble strong evidence in favour of a smooth transition from Acheulian to a Levallois-like industry based on the faceted-platform technique. It is difficult not to be

struck by the analogy between this transition and the similar state of affairs observed by Miss Caton-Thompson at Kharga, and by myself at the Wadi Merdum in Tripolitania.

In dealing with the first appearance of the blade and microlith industries, it is interesting to find Mr. Jones arguing for an entirely different interpretation from that adopted by most South African students. Here, he suggests, if anywhere in the South Rhodesian succession, there are signs of a real break and the Rhodesian Wilton may be an entirely new tradition brought in by an immigrant people, possibly the Bushmen or their ancestors.

The background of climatic change, which provides the framework for the synchronization of widely separated finds from different parts of the territory, is the fruit mainly of two detailed investigations. The first was carried out by H. B. S. Cooke and J. D. Clark at the Victoria Falls, and the other by Neville Jones and G. Bond at Sawmills on the Umgusa River. Some interesting observations were also made on the Bembesi River and at Lochard near its head waters. The evidence from these and other sources appears to indicate three major periods of pluvial increase separated by phases of marked aridity and followed by two minor oscillations of more recent date. The handaxe tradition of the Lower Palaeolithic is associated with the first of these wet phases, while the Bembesi culture between Lower and Middle Palaeolithic belongs to the end of the same stage. An evolved Middle Palaeolithic (Proto-Still-Bay) is probably to be attributed to the end of the second wet period, and a 'Magosian' or final Middle Palaeolithic to the very end of the third.

In a short but important passage Mr. Jones provides a new and much simplified version of the famous Bambata Cave succession, based on a re-excavation. It may be said at once that this new reading accords much better than the original version with what we now know of the sequence in neighbouring regions. A tantalizingly short chapter on the rock paintings shows that the dating and sequence of these is still extremely uncertain. The direct evidence



for the dating, such as it is, derives from the ground fragments of ochre 'pencils' to be found in stratified deposits. It should be noted however that similar fragments occur regularly elsewhere, in cultures wholly devoid of parietal art, so that it is difficult to feel much confidence in their testimony. There is on the other hand some circumstantial evidence for the at least partial association of the art with the Wilton industrial stage, and at the same time a notable lack of internal indications suggestive of a later date.

C. B. M. MCBURNEY

**Tentative Study of the Pleistocene Climatic Changes and Stone Age Culture Sequence in North-Eastern Angola.** By L. S. B. Leakey. *Publicações Culturais da Companhia de Diamantes de Angola*, No. 4. Lisbon (Museu do Dundo), 1949. Pp. 82

Students of African prehistory are once again indebted to Dr. Leakey, this time for his study of the climatic fluctuations and cultural sequence during the Pleistocene and Recent times in a part of the subcontinent which has featured for so long as a blank upon the prehistoric map. Using the systematic and carefully documented pioneer work of Mr. J. Janmart as a basis, Dr. Leakey has produced a tentative correlation of the succession in the Dundo area of Angola with the well-established succession in northern Tanganyika and Kenya. This correlation is described as tentative by the author, as the time available to him for this study was limited to one month, but with this reservation in mind Dr. Leakey is to be congratulated on having given a lucid exposition of the succession in northern Angola on which all future work in that area will be based. He has described the Stone Age cultures in accordance with the decisions on African prehistoric nomenclature agreed upon at the first Pan-African Congress on Prehistory in 1947, and thus, by eliminating not a few little-known and almost unpronounceable cultural terms which have crept into the literature in the western equatorial region, has greatly simplified an understanding of the Stone Age in these parts.

There may be some, though I do not share their view, who would not altogether agree with Dr. Leakey's use at this stage of the East African terms (Kamasian, Kangeran, Gamblian, etc.) to describe the Pluvial phases in Angola, for while the Pan-African Congress in 1947 agreed to their use to describe deposits proved to be of Kamasian, Gamblian or other ages, in other parts of the continent, it is not certain whether these terms should also be applied to the Pluvials themselves.

Leakey's description of the various stages of the local variant of the Sangoan Culture and its comparison with the variants in Kenya and Uganda has greatly added to our knowledge of its distribution and associations. Of importance also is the description and illustration of the Late Middle Stone Age Lupemban Culture, which is now for the first time described in detail. Its position in the climatic succession shows that the Lupemban in Angola and the Congo is the contemporary of the regional forms of the Magosian further to the east and south. In fact there are not a few traits in common between the Lupemban and the earlier forms of the Rhodesian Magosian.

The cultural evidence also shows that northern Angola, and we may presume the Congo Basin area generally, was one of the regions, if not the major one, where the first stages of the Sangoan Culture developed out of the Chelles-Acheul complex. It would appear that in this 'retreat area' radically changed ecological conditions resulted in a metamorphosed material culture.

In any study of the Pleistocene climates of the western half of central and south-central Africa it is impossible to escape the importance of the wind-blown Kalahari Sands as an indicator of climatic fluctuation. These wind-blown sands, covering most of the area investigated by the author, are not infrequently of considerable depth and have affected the development of the rivers in these parts. The commercial, large-scale excavations of the Companhia de Diamantes have, however, laid bare unique sections exposing the sub-sand topography, as can be seen from the many excellent photographic plates with which the work is illustrated. These excavations have enabled a careful examination to be made of the land surfaces and deposits which underlie these Kalahari Sands. Texturally it is virtually impossible to distinguish the one from the

other, but from a careful analysis of the cultural evidence from the land surfaces underlying them, and of the sands themselves, Dr. Leakey has been able to subdivide them into the true Kalahari Sand, accumulated during the long and dry interpluvial at the end of the Middle Pleistocene, and three redeposited sands. Work in the Rhodesias has shown that the correlation between the different phases of sand-deposition there and in northern Angola is a very close one. These wind-blown sands vary very greatly, of course, in their character and have rather loosely been grouped together, as it is generally considered that the major, and earliest, accumulation of them is an indication of a former greater extent of the Kalahari Desert. Much, however, still remains to be known about these sands and a conference of research workers who have made a study of them would be of great value in helping to define, interpret and correlate them.

The climate in northern Angola—on the southern limits of the equatorial belt—must have been less arid during the earlier part at any rate of the dry interpluvial between the upper Kamasian and Gamblian pluvials than was the case in Rhodesia and northern Tanganyika. Kunkar, or secondary limestone, is not recorded by Leakey as occurring in the Pleistocene stratigraphy of north-east Angola, and we may perhaps presume that the climate never became sufficiently dry to allow of its formation, as it certainly did in Rhodesia where massive kunkar-formation is not infrequently met with.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the paper was not illustrated from the pen of Mrs. Leakey, as some of the photographic illustrations of stone tools are not always as clear as could be desired, but apart from this the work is a most valuable contribution to the elucidation of the Pleistocene cultural and climatic succession of the sub-continent and no student of African prehistory can afford to be without it.

J. DESMOND CLARK

**Contributions to a Socio-Economic Survey of the Gambia.** By D. P. Gamble. *Colonial Office*, 1949. Pp. 151 (duplicated)

**262** An interim report of fieldwork, this typescript covers principally the geographical and economic aspects of life on the Gambia. There are interesting case studies of villages, with detailed drawings and descriptions of the different types and of the hut types and furnishings. One section deals with the 'strange' farmers, temporary migrants cultivating a significant part of the main cash crop, groundnuts, through an intimate system of *métayage*, living with the host village, drawing seed from the village central pool, and making payment in kind from the harvest. Income and expenditure estimates for villages and village farmers are given and less exact information for the more elusive elements in the population, the young men and the 'strange' farmers. A further study covering the social structure and the processes of social change is promised. The report can be consulted at the Institute; it is to be hoped that the Colonial Office will arrange a wider circulation for the final report.

J. M. MOGEY

**African Ideas of God: A Symposium.** Edited by Edwin W. Smith. London (Edinburgh House Press), 1950. Pp. x, 308. Price 21s.

**263** This symposium contains a general introductory essay by the editor, and twelve contributions (listed below) on the idea of God among various African peoples. The tribes considered are a random collection, and the book does not pretend to attempt any detailed classification or comparison, though some very general conclusions about ideas of God in Africa south of the Sahara may be drawn from the material here collected. It disproves (if that were necessary) the remark made to the editor by Emil Ludwig at a dinner party, and perhaps intended only as dinner-party conversation: 'Deity is a philosophical concept which savages are incapable of framing.' The book also shows, sometimes by default, the difficulty of handling and interpreting information on primitive religion, and the difficulty of fixing a criterion of relevance in the present state of such studies, when nothing has replaced intellectualist or evolutionary 'explanations.' The contributors have intimate personal knowledge of the people about whom they write, much of it acquired in the course of Christian missionary work. They appear to know well the languages of their peoples, and they



write of African religions with the real respect without which there can be no understanding. For the many quotations of native texts alone, the book would be well worth reading.

Yet one is left with the impression that more might have been achieved if a narrower field had been more thoroughly covered. Although the modest tone of the editor and contributors almost forestalls criticism on this point, and whatever the exigencies of publishing, it must be said that far too much has here been compressed into too little space. Without a very detailed and methodical reconstruction of African concepts in carefully chosen European terms, the complexity inherent in the material is bound to give an impression of vagueness and confusion. All the contributors are aware of the great difficulties of adequate translation, yet none has space at his disposal which would make this possible. To take for example what is admittedly much the shortest article, it is not to be expected that much can be said about the idea of God in Uganda, with comments also on the Luo peoples, in seven pages of print. Since many of the contributors have had to cut down their contributions, and could obviously develop their interpretations, it seems a pity that they should have been prevented from doing so simply in order to include more essays within the book. Notes on the peoples and their land preface every article, but again they are much more cursory than would have been desirable. It is unlikely that most readers of this book will want to wander through other published literature on twelve or more tribes, in order to replace the religious material here presented among other features of social life to which it has a necessary relationship.

Some reflections are prompted less by this book, which is very good of its kind, than by the study of primitive religion in general by means of such concepts and methods as we seem to have. Most of the writers here study African religion from an overtly Christian point of view, and the nature of their insight shows that this is no bad beginning. Yet I think that where Christian notions are taken as a guide to relevance as pervasively as here, those notions themselves should emerge with clearer definition than they do here. I find it very difficult to link up the remarks of Archbishop Temple, quoted by the editor ('It is wonder that prompts the mind to examine its environment—at first the elementary wonder how to make the best of it; but the enquiry ends in the wonder of awe, before that which, the more it is understood, by so much the more transcends our understanding'), with the sort of apprehension of divinity described among these African peoples. Still more difficult is it to see the significance for such a study (or even any unequivocal meaning) in Professor Whitehead's dictum, also quoted, that 'the uncritical association of religion with goodness is negated by plain facts.' Part of the purpose of such a study as this should be to show, not whether such a statement is right or wrong, perhaps an impossible task, but to show what might better be substituted for this generalization after an empirical study of African religion.

In short, I think that if primitive religion is to be studied with 'Christian ideas' as a guide to what is relevant (and who can fail to interpret in terms of religion as he knows it or imagines it to be?) it should be studied with reference to a systematic theology, not with reference to a popular compound of theology and ethics, based upon impressions rather than distinctions and definitions. I do not doubt that this would have been the approach of the contributors to this book—where they are at their best it often is so—if they had written as missionaries, not anthropologists, more consistently. As it is, they have compromised between a theological and an anthropological analysis, and for that reason anthropologists (perhaps theologians too) are bound to feel themselves in an atmosphere of guesses and intuitions which, though unavoidable in the discussion of primitive religious notions, might still have been more convincing if they had been logically interrelated with greater rigour. The vocabulary used for the discussion of primitive religion badly needs renewing, for surely the consistency and intricacy of the symbolic systems here studied are worthy of better terms than 'mana,' 'vital force,' 'spiritism' and so on. Where discussion becomes general, such hit-or-miss terms are now almost inevitable, though more precision would be required in a technical discussion of the religion of a civilized people. I think also that a consideration of much that is popularly said about God in England,

if taken as an empirical guide to English notions of His nature, might suggest, to an African investigator, a being quite different from the one which some writers seem to have in mind when making comparisons between our notions of God and those of primitive peoples. Such problems as these are clearly present to the contributors to this symposium, and to have recognized them is to have made some contribution to solving them, which this book is too cramped to do.

The symposium contains, besides the editor's general introduction, contributions on the idea of God in Northern Nyasaland (Rev. T. Cullen Young), among the Tonga (Rev. Cecil R. Hopgood), among South African tribes (the editor), in Ovamboland (Rev. G. W. Dymond), among the Ngombe of the Belgian Congo (Rev. J. Davidson), in Ruanda-Urundi (Rosemary Guillebaud), in Uganda (Harold Bekin Thomas), in the Nuba Mountains (R. C. Stevenson), among the Yoruba and Ewe (Rev. G. Parrinder), among the Akan peoples of the Gold Coast (Rev. H. St. John Evans), among the Kono of Sierra Leone (Rev. Robert T. Parsons) and among the Mende (Rev. W. T. Harris). R. G. LIENHARDT

**The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society.** By Philip Mayer. O. U. P. for Int. Afr. Inst., 1949. Pp. 35. Price 3s.

**264** The Gusii or Kisii are one of the larger groups in Kenya concerning which no published information has hitherto been available. Dr. Mayer has recently spent more than two years among them under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, and the present essay (together with his paper 'Privileged Obstruction of Marriage Rites among the Gusii' in *Africa*, Vol. XX (1950), pp. 113-125) is the first instalment, as we hope, of a full study of these people.

As may be gathered from this essay, the Gusii are in some respects like the Bantu of North Kavirondo or Abaluhya, that is, they are not a tribe but a group of tribes each with its own name and identity. But one infers that tribal stability is not as strong among the South Kavirondo as it is among those of the North, and more information about this would be welcome. Even if their nearest affinity in Kenya is with the Abarigoli of North Nyanza district, the general social pattern of the Gusii is not of North Kavirondo type, and the possession of 'tribal totems' (p. 13, whatever these may be) definitely sets them apart from the Abaluhya.

It is to be hoped that in his next publication Dr. Mayer will give us more details of Gusii tribal distribution and organization, and of the framework of the clan system. The first study of a people of whose organization and culture little or nothing is known should, I think, contain a rather more adequate and detailed summary of the general background than Dr. Mayer has given us. So much of the interesting material presented is for this reason not so intelligible or impressive as it would otherwise have been, because without more knowledge of the social context the true significance of various statements is a little obscure. When the author says (p. 8) that even before marriage a girl is regarded as equivalent to a member of another clan, how does this fit in with the rules concerning pre-marital intercourse? The position and treatment of settlers (*abamciyi*, p. 26) needs clarification; who, for instance, does sponsor them if the relative near whom they settle merely 'allows' them to build? And the absorptive powers of the host lineage would seem to be overrated as an integrating mechanism (p. 31) in the light of what Dr. Mayer says about them on other pages.

More than once Dr. Mayer refers to the non-coincidence of Gusii ideals and practices. On p. 17, for example, he says that 'according to Gusii ideas, membership of the nuclear lineage and of the homestead group ought properly to coincide. In point of fact they may not.' The proper understanding of tribal ideals is not always quickly acquired, and it may be that the non-coincidence is sometimes more imagined than real, for the supposed 'native ideas' may in fact be what the anthropologist thinks they ought to be.

Dr. Mayer's essay is welcome as a first instalment, but it suffers from a sense of unreality: the reader is plunged too quickly into an ethnographical vacuum, which a clearer preliminary summary would have prevented. And while duly grateful for what we are given here, we shall be glad to have next time enough to make it possible to form a picture of both the tribal organization of the Gusii and their inter-tribal relationships. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD



## OCEANIA

**South Sea Folk.** By Gilbert Archey. 2nd ed. Auckland (War Memorial Museum), 1949. Pp. 71, 12 plates, 184 figs.

**265** This handbook to the Oceanic collections of the Auckland Museum is a model of its kind. For each area a necessarily brief but comprehensive account of the material culture is accompanied by an outline of the general habits and way of life of the people and of the environmental factors. Half the handbook is given to the Maori, and this section includes some discussion of the origins of wood-carving motifs, deriving the *manaia* head from half a full-face human head, and the double spiral from interlocking *manaia* lips. The rest of Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia are treated more generally.

The plates and the numerous figures are well selected and reproduced, and the latter are arranged down the outer sides of the pages; they thus break up the letterpress as little as possible, and can be referred to with the minimum of trouble. Mr. Archey is to be congratulated on providing visitors to his museum with an admirable introduction to Oceanic ethnography.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

**Majuro: A Village in the Marshall Islands.** By Alexander Spoehr. *Fieldiana, Anthropol.*, Vol. XXXIX. Chicago Nat. Hist. Mus., 1949. Pp. 266, 30 illus., 11 maps, bibliog. Price \$3.50

**266** At the end of the First World War most of the islands of Micronesia were mandated to Japan. Because of Japan's policies of excluding all foreigners from this area and of publishing almost nothing about it, there has been very little information, scientific or otherwise, available to the West about this small-island world for many years. At the end of the Second World War the area was placed under the trusteeship of the United States, and in 1946 a group of scientists, under the National Research Council in the United States, began a study of the area known as the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesia Anthropology (CIMA). Dr. Spoehr's is one of the first monographs to come out of this study. Many anthropologists will be glad to see material on this little known area beginning to appear. Dr. Spoehr did his work in a village in the Marshall Islands during the spring and early summer of 1946, under the joint sponsorship of the Chicago Natural History Museum and the CIMA project.

Dr. Spoehr describes his study as an attempt to 'show the principal characteristics of Marshallese social organization by describing the social groupings that exist within a Marshallese village and certain of the dominant institutions that are operative in village life.' He does this in a series of chapters on the village as a unit, class structure and political organization, household and family, lineage and clan, kinship system, and introduced institutions in village life. A great deal of detailed descriptive material is presented and obviously careful investigation was carried out. His stated purpose is to describe the situation as it was at the time of his visit (not historically and not in terms of a 'problem') and his indication of its value for social science is that it will be available for future comparative work on contemporary village communities.

As we come to feel in anthropology that more systematic methods of comparison and analysis are necessary than have been used in the past, it is to be hoped that material will be presented in a form in which analysis, comparison and testing are possible. As in all science, this involves attempting to isolate relevant variables and relationships between them. Dr. Spoehr states as his aim the presentation of 'a preliminary body of observed fact'; he does this more or less in the atomic sense in which the older monographs did it, describing one aspect of the social organization after the next without any attempt to analyse essential elements or crucial conditions. I feel that Dr. Spoehr's material would be of more use if presented as propositions for testing and comparison rather than as descriptive fact.

Dr. Spoehr implies in his monograph that the culture of the Marshallese village is moving toward an equilibrium situation—an integrated culture. He suggests that there was an integrated culture before European contact and that now that the village is adjusting

itself to a hundred years of European and Japanese contact, a new integrated culture is emerging. He suggests that it will be possible to compare this 'type' culture with other similar emerging types in the Pacific. I too was in Majuro in the summer of 1946, and Dr. Spoehr and I had many discussions about this subject. I feel that no community with the enormous amount of contact which the Marshalls have had—in fact, probably no community in the present world—will settle down to an 'integrated' culture again, unless it is Western culture. I agree with Dr. Spoehr that Majuro is a pleasant place to be in, incredibly pleasant. I agree that one does not find the anxiety and strain and conflicting institutions so often associated with rapidly changing societies. However, I do not think an 'integrated' society is emerging. It is difficult to speak of whole societies as units, and much more helpful to speak of their component parts. I think it is possible to see certain component parts of Marshallese society changing—more slowly than in some other societies to be sure; I further think that it is possible to define some of the circumstances and conditions which make the change inevitable and also slower than in other nearby societies, and some of the circumstances and conditions which make 'integration' impossible. What, for example, will be the cumulative effect of many young men now being at work and school in Guam? What will be the effect of the return of the head of the Teachers' Training School from two years as a student at the University of Hawaii?

I very much enjoyed the short time during which my fieldwork overlapped with Dr. Spoehr's, and I learned a great deal from watching his capable handling of fieldwork situations. The two suggestions made in this review, that material should not be presented merely descriptively and that there is no possibility of an 'integrated' culture emerging, were the topics of many interesting conversations between us. MARGARET CHAVE FALLERS

**Australia's Coloured Minority.** By A. O. Neville, with an Introduction by A. P. Elkin. Sydney (Currawong Press), 1947. Pp. 263, 4 plates. Price 12s. 6d.

**267** *Australia's Coloured Minority* is a book addressed primarily to the Australian public. It is a revelation of the ignorance, indifference and prejudice which have so far characterized the attitude of large sections of that public in its relationships with some 30,000 coloured folk. The book is not a sociological survey, nor does it contain any reference to anthropological work carried out among coloured peoples, more especially in New South Wales. It does not set out systematically the legal status of the coloured people and there are no figures which give their distribution in cities, country towns, reserves and institutions. Nevertheless Mr. Neville, who for 25 years administered the Department of Native Affairs in Western Australia, writes from first-hand experience and has given considerable thought to the problem. He accepts the goal of assimilation and outlines a policy by which he thinks it may be achieved.

Until now responsibility for the welfare of full bloods and mixed bloods has fallen on the States, some of which have a relatively small white population and small revenues. Western Australia, which has the largest native population, spends something under £2 per head per year and, though its policy has in some respects been in advance of that of other States, its institutions for coloured folk have been hampered by lack of staff and funds. Mr. Neville illustrates the subterfuges to which he was sometimes reduced to obtain equipment. The dining tables at one institution had become insanitary but timber was refused because of the cost. However, Mr. Neville noticed that nice white timber suitable for table tops was being supplied for coffins, so he ordered coffins and effected a substitution (p. 85)!

Mr. Neville suggests that the Federal Government assume financial responsibility and that in all States adequately equipped institutions be established which, while offering a home to the aged, sick and infirm, will primarily be concerned with the education and training of young people so that they can participate fully and on equal terms in the life of the white community. Whether, as Mr. Neville asserts, every coloured child 'must be placed at a residential



school at a settlement' (p. 177) is open to discussion. Certainly there is a strong case for such policy in so far as the colour bar does in effect lead to the segregation of the coloured folk in church, cinema, residence, and even sport in many country towns; and to the exclusion of coloured children from schools attended by whites.

PHYLLIS M. KABERRY

**Ourselfs Writ Strange.** By Alan Marshall, 2nd edn. Melbourne (Cheshire) (London: Allen & Unwin), 1949. Pp. 321, 19 illus. Price 15s.

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This book comprises a collection of some forty-four sketches dealing with the aboriginals, half-castes, and Christian Missions of the Northern Territories of Australia. These sketches are mainly characterizations of individuals, including vivid descriptions of their work and the ways in which they live, with some remarks on art forms and cave paintings. Two themes are blatant throughout the work: the reader cannot help but be aware of the author's disgust at the conditions now prevailing in the area as it affects the native peoples, and there is also a plea that the Government should do something about it. Unfortunately there are no suggestions as to what particular action it might take. The author uses an awkward literary style which relies on the imagination of the reader for its effect, but he is honest and makes no pretensions to unbiased scientific observation. The book has a general interest for anthropologists, and more especially its style draws attention to the problem of the use of particular literary techniques. There are many excellent photographs.

K. O. L. BURRIDGE

**Anatomy of Paradise: Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas.** By J. C. Furnas. London (Gollancz), 1950. Pp. 542. Price 18s.

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The author has read or consulted most books on Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, has travelled extensively in these islands, and has written this book in a snappy, journalistic style which is extremely readable. The first section is a general introduction to the history and geography of the islands, and this is followed by

chapters on the recent history of Hawaii, and more generalized chapters on explorers, missionaries, notorious adventurers, romantic writers, and various aspects of native culture and culture contact. Professor Linton is justified, as quoted on the dust jacket, in saying that the book 'has the rare quality of combining scientific accuracy with humour and charm,' though we must protest that the alleged cause of the Indian Mutiny was not 'swine's flesh' but beef suet.

RAGLAN

**Palauan Society: A Study of Contemporary Native Life on the Palau Islands.** By H. G. Barnett, Eugene, Oregon (Univ. of Oregon Publ.), 1949. Pp. 223.

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Barnett's *Palauan Society* is one of the first full-length reports of the CIMA project to be published. The Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology covered very much the same geographic area as the German Südsee-Expedition of 1908-10, but the emphases of the investigators differ. Whereas the latter generally concentrated heavily on cat's cradles, tattoo designs, house and canoe type, and folklore, the CIMA investigators have concerned themselves largely with people and their social organization. *Palauan Society* shows just this concern for people and their social behaviour. Starting with food and work, Barnett goes on to describe kinship, money, the manipulation of wealth, birth, marriage and death, social and political position and finally religion with almost no attention to the material aspects of culture.

The book will be indispensable to the specialist in Micronesian ethnography despite the fact that the kinship chapter is lacking in clarity and the volume as a whole only loosely pulled together. Yet these difficulties are far outweighed by such excellent descriptions as that of the role of 'money' in Palauan social structure and the insightful description of the system of religious beliefs. The chapter on political organization provides a wealth of material bearing on Arthur Vidich's analysis of Palauan factionalism (Pacific Science Board, Washington, D.C., 1948, mimeographed) and it is to be hoped that the future will see a full-scale analysis of the Palauan political system as a whole.

D. M. SCHNEIDER

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Social Anthropology: Past and Present.** Cf. MAN, 1950, 198 and 254

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STR.—In summoning the historical spirit into his subject, Professor Evans-Pritchard has, I feel, been too reticent both in following out his theme and in recognizing that the theme had for long been a central feature of the teaching of the British diffusionists.

He stresses that in his view neglect of the history of institutions by the functionalists must prevent them from either testing their functional constructions or studying diachronic problems. He further insists that this neglect becomes a most pressing problem now because of the extension of the social anthropologist's field of study into the simpler communities which form part of the great historical societies. And it seems clear that Professor Evans-Pritchard's view is that if the social anthropologist explicitly rejects the relevance of history to the analysis of these communities, then his claim to be able to deal adequately with his problems is 'an absurdity.' Then surely the crux of the matter lies in the relevance of this criticism to the study of non-literate communities. If the synchronic analysis is invalidated by lack of reference to the past, and if that past, in terms of direct evidence, is declared to be unknown and unknowable, then the synchronic analysis of 'primitive' societies must, by the same criterion, be well-nigh valueless. It would seem clear then that the primary object of enquiry should be into the validity of this rejection of the historical approach to 'primitive' societies in order to determine the worthwhileness of social anthropology. But instead of rigorously pursuing this line of enquiry, Professor Evans-Pritchard digresses into an obscure discussion about the question of whether social anthropology is not

itself a kind of historiography. Even if it were intelligible, is this question really important? It is surely at least subsidiary to that just previously raised.

The first and most important duty of social anthropology now that Professor Evans-Pritchard has officially shifted the heavy hand of functionalism is to face up to this question of history and so-called primitive society. And I suggest that this means a return to the outlook, and approach of the maligned British diffusionists so cavalierly dismissed by Professor Evans-Pritchard in another context. The whole aim of the work of Rivers, Perry and Hocart was directed to this question in the spheres of social and cultural anthropology. Their theme was first and last the reality of social and cultural continuity. The blanket label of 'diffusionist' immediately obliterates any ability by most students to see beyond that catchword. But it must be made clear that diffusion is but one end of the process which at the other end is just this question of history in 'primitive' societies. Elliot Smith saw the glaringly patent fact of diffusion; Rivers, Perry and Hocart recognized the process behind it. Diffusion was the appearance of the process in its original direction, and its demonstration was a matter of orthodox historical reconstruction, and as such open to the criticism of those who were open to conviction only by direct evidence—i.e. no Egyptian artifacts, no Egyptian influence. But Perry and the others operated as well from the receiving end, and by holding fast to the principle of continuity the process was seen in reverse, i.e. from effect to cause, and validation became almost automatic. The lifelines (in the ritual as well as metaphorical sense) which anchor present societies, of whatever grade, to the past could be followed back quite independently of any preconceived or necessarily postulated



starting point, and the sheer weight of self-aligning facts leads inexorably to the solution whatever or wherever it might be. Perry's earliest paper, in the Institute's *Journal* in 1914, on 'The Orientation of the Dead in Indonesia' was a pioneer application of this method, and similarly, as anyone who has perused it will know, the *Children of the Sun* enquiry does not start from Egypt and work outwards, but works inwards from the periphery of early civilization.

After all, the fact that the native projects his institutions and culture back into the past is patent to all, and is universally admitted, not least by the functionalists who added flesh to the bare bones of the process. So following this clue, and paying heed to what the native says about his own culture and its past, the logical implications of this fact give the key to the question of the relation of history to social anthropology.

It does seem that after thus making a thrust into this debated territory, Professor Evans-Pritchard fails to consolidate the position. Indeed his subsequent programme seems hardly to advance from the position held by the functionalists. After all, when he has disclosed the 'latent underlying form of society or culture,' and has proceeded to compare the social structures thus revealed, what then? Does he stop there? It is difficult to see how he can move except either with the functionalists in showing how such forms arise from the interrelations of men in society synchronically considered and as a consequence of the need for man 'as a reasonable creature' to 'live in a world in which his relations with those around him are ordered and intelligible' or historically by following the threads from each to the others and revealing these forms as part of a wider unity whose roots lie in particular situations at particular times and places in the past. Accepting Professor Evans-Pritchard's claim that social anthropology is a kind of historiography, and so studies societies as moral systems, by which he means in effect, I presume, that men control their circumstances rather than circumstances men, then the former direction is surely inadmissible as being merely a falling back on natural laws. The second direction is from this standpoint inevitable because, as Perry showed so strikingly throughout his writings, men were responsible for the spread and the elaboration and the disintegration of the system which we call early civilization, and whose fragments constitute what we call the cultures and social systems of 'primitive' peoples. Men were responsible for this in consequence of their being reasoning, feeling and willing beings, and not, as Professor Evans-Pritchard expresses it, automata whose actions, ideas and beliefs are to be explained in terms of sociological laws. In other words, men are not to be conceived as the mechanical puppets of blind social and environmental forces leading them everywhere to conjure up out of the void totemic clans and moieties, kinship systems and divine kings, magic, witchcraft, headhunting and human sacrifice. And equally not the passive vehicles of the culture traits and complexes, type 'fossils,' form elements and proto-cultures beloved of the *Kulturkreis* schools whether in their Central European or their American form.

So the questions which Professor Evans-Pritchard asks in discussing the relations between history and social anthropology are thus immediately answered. The first, as to whether a knowledge of how a particular social system has come to be what it is helps one to understand its present constitution, becomes irrelevant. The present constitution and the past are inseparable, as would never have been forgotten if anthropologists had kept in front of their minds that they are dealing with men and women as well as with the abstractions which they call institutions. The only legitimate question here is how does the distortion and partiality of an attempt to see the present constitution without reference to the past destroy any value it may be thought to have. Similarly the second question again reveals that particularizing habit which paralyses so much of modern social and human sciences. Conceived as separate and unrelated growths, the comparison of different social structures would, in the uniqueness of the circumstances of the history of each society, be meaningless. Conceived as parts of an organic whole, like species within the system of organic nature, such comparisons between past and present societies become inevitable, and indeed the lifeblood of the study. The third of Professor Evans-Pritchard's

questions is perhaps not so germane to the issues raised here, although it is undoubtedly conditioned by the approach to the others.

C. E. JOEL

London

#### Man's Relation to the Apes. Cf. MAN, 1950, 257

**272** SIR.—In his address to the Institute on 'Man's Relation to the Apes' Professor Osman Hill gave reasons for his belief that there was a common ancestor from which both stocks diverged, probably in the very early Miocene period; and that when this common ancestor could be identified it would have to be classified as an anthropoid ape. I should like to draw attention here, as I did in the discussion, to the relations between man and apes in the area of Central Africa between Lakes Albert Edward and Kivu.

In this region there are three types of man: negroid agriculturalists in the lowland valleys; Hamitic pastoral peoples on the almost treeless highlands around the 5,000-foot contour; and above 8,000 feet, on the forested volcanic mountains, nomadic pygmy hunters. There are also three species of apes: the cynocephalus baboon, the chimpanzee, and two geographically and physically distinct types of gorilla. The baboons inhabit rocky hilltops, from which they make destructive raids on the crops; they are killed by the people when possible. A more effective deterrent is to capture, tar-and-feather and release one. The chimpanzee prefers the warm lowlands, and also raids crops at night.

The more northerly group of gorillas inhabits high mountain rain forest, a region of violent thunderstorms. Compared with the southern group they are quick to take offence, and will stalk and kill humans, who enter the edge of the forest in search of wood, with astonishing ferocity. The open approach and chest-drumming tactics have not been noticed among this group. The southern group, *Gorilla gorilla beringei*, is found on the volcanic Birunga Great Rift range, rising to 15,000 feet; above the level of the bamboo forest I have seen their tracks in fleeting snow. Their range lies mainly in the Albert National Park in Belgian-administered (formerly German) territory, where they are strictly protected. The late Dr. Derscheid made an estimate of their numbers (c. 500), so that their reproduction rate can be fairly accurately recorded. The chief enemies of their young are mountain leopards and an occasional old lion. As natural death takes its toll, anatomical specimens will gradually become available for study. Although the favourite playground of the young is fallen tree trunks, these gorillas have ceased to be arboreal, for in their favourite bamboo forest habitat there are few trees which will bear the weight of a 25-stone adult. They have developed most of the muscles which enable man to walk upright.

In close and continued observation of these gorilla families from the lava caves I was able to form certain conclusions on (i) the average composition of the family unit; (ii) the method of constructing the bamboo drainage seat for use in rain; (iii) the composition of the diet, which is seasonal and is not wholly vegetarian; (iv) the games played by the young, in which the mother sometimes participates; (v) the system of guardianship and sentry-go, apparently performed by the father of the family; (vi) the selection and use of a crooked stick as an extension of the arm in reaching fruit. I also observed the interest apparently shown by the males in the human female during their rare twilight or dawn descents into inhabited localities, and carefully examined the bodies of their victims on the day of their death. I was able to keep the young of both chimpanzee and gorilla, for the purpose of comparison of their natural diet, in their natural environment and under easy observation. Little work can, however, be done on the British side of the border, to which the *beringei* come only seasonally in search of young bamboo shoots and of the giant cherivil.

Though one could not claim that these observations prove anything, it is interesting to note the possibilities of the influence of a cold temperate environment on these two isolated groups, introducing evolutionary factors to which those inhabiting the hot, humid climate, infested by fly and worm, of the low Central Congo basin are not subjected. Possibly they may have been cut off on the 'Alpine' east side of the Great Rift by volcanic activity while on a seasonal food foray from the Congo-Kivu forest.

TRACY PHILIPPS



VOL. L, Articles 1-12

JANUARY, 1950

# MAN

*A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*

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## Minoan Dress

(with Plate A, in colour, and a text figure)

*Sir John L. Myres, O.B.E., F.B.A.*

## Obituaries

## Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

## Shorter Notes

## Reviews

## Correspondence

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## MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN FEBRUARY

At 5 p.m. at the Institute

- February 7. *The Stone Age of Peninsular India (illustrated)*. Professor F. E. Zeuner, D.Sc., Ph.D.  
February 14. Special Meeting. *Privileged Obstruction of Marriage Rites among the Gusii (illustrated)*.  
U. P. Mayer, D.Phil.  
February 21. *Preliminary Excavations at Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar (illustrated)*. J. D'A. Waechter, Ph.D.

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March 7. <i>Excavations in an Early Magdalenian Rock Shelter at Angles-sur-l'Anglin in the Vienne (illustrated)</i> . Professor D. A. E. Garrod, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.
March 21. <i>Protohistoric Elements in Malaysian Culture</i> . Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt.

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## MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN APRIL

On Tuesdays at 5 p.m. at the Institute

April 18. <i>Anthropology and the Study of Modern Society: Some Theoretical Problems</i> . R. O'R. Piddington, M.A., Ph.D.
April 25. <i>Fieldwork in Old-Age Study</i> . Miss S. R. Burstein, M.A.

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Communication with the Dead as Practised by the American Indians

*Frances Denmore*

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

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At 5 p.m. at the Royal Society, Burlington House, W.1

- May 2. Henry Myers Lecture, 1950. *Religion and Reality*. Professor E. O. James, D. Litt., D.D., Ph.D., F.S.A.

At 5 p.m. at the Institute

- May 9. *The Excavation of a Neolithic Site at Esh Shaheinab in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. A. J. Arkell, M.B.E., M.C., B.Litt., F.S.A.  
May 16. Special Meeting. *Some Types of History among the Luapula Peoples*. I. G. Cunlison.  
May 23. *The Nyakusa Age Villages*. Professor Monica Wilson, M.A., Ph.D.

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(with Plate E and 2 text figures)

*Miss Beatrice M. Blackwood*

**The First Cradle of an Albanian Child**

*The late Mrs. Margaret Hasluck*

**Shorter Notes**

**The Finnish Lapps in Wartime and After**

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## MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE IN JUNE

At 5 p.m. at the Institute unless otherwise stated

- June 6. *Recording African Music without a Recorder*. A. N. Tucker, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit. (At University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.)  
June 20. *Matriliney among the Nayars of Malabar*. Mrs. E. K. Miller.  
June 27. Annual Meeting. Presidential Address. Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D.

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(with Plate I)

*Mrs. Ursula Betts*

Social Anthropology: Past and Present

The Marett Lecture, 1950

*Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard*

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee

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**Man's Relation to the Apes**  
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### APPOINTMENT OF AN ETHNOGRAPHER

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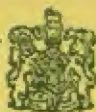
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